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THE HISTORIES OF TACITUS

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THE

HISTORIES OF TACITUS

BOOKS III., IV., AND V.

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

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In my edition of the First and Second Books of the Histories I followed the text of Baiter and Orelli, as revised by Meiser. In consequence of the delay in the continuation of that revision, I have now, in editing the later books, adopted Halm's text.

I have again to acknowledge my debt to the commentary of Heräus, and also to that of E. Wolff.

A. D. G.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

The first two books of the Histories relate the events of the eighteen months between December (68) and July (69). The opening days of the year 69 had seen Galba's fall: Otho, his successor, had reigned but three months when he determined not to survive the defeat of his troops by the northern army of Vitellius: and the summer found Vitellius in Rome and Vespasian already proclaimed Emperor in the east. That victorious general would apparently have accepted the rule of Galba: but he would not serve an Otho, much less a Vitellius. Counselled and aided by Mucianus, the governor of Syria, he resolved to assert his claims to the purple, and to maintain them in Italy by force of arms. The later books of the Histories are the story of the establishment of the Flavian dynasty: they describe two and touch upon the third of the three great wars which ushered in that dynasty—the war in Italy, the war in the North, and the war in the East.

It was not the armies of the East that were to decide the contest in Italy. Although Vespasian had

sent on Mucianus with an advanced guard towards Italy, intending himself to follow later, other swords were already drawn for him. The legions of Moesia and Pannonia—roughly speaking, the whole force of the provinces extending from the head of the Adriatic to the Black Sea—were ripe for revolt. Many of the men were old soldiers of Otho's, and were eager to be revenged on the Vitellian victors of Bedriacum: others had special reasons for following Vespasian. The flame was fanned by the three brave and capable leaders who are the heroes of the Italian campaign—Cornelius Fuscus, Arrius Varus, and Antonius Primus: and the opening of the third book finds the vanguard of the Flavian army at Poetovio—Petau in Styria—near the western boundary of Pannonia, preparing to cross the mountains into the plains of northern Italy. Here the campaign was really finished by the battle and sack of Cremona in October, 69. Vitellius' last hopes were shattered by the perfidy or death of his principal lieutenants, and the defection of the force which he had sent to encounter the enemy in the Apennines. The taking and burning of the capital by his followers only served to incense his enemies: and though a terrible battle was fought in the streets of Rome, the resistance of the garrison was but the last effort of despair. The emperor himself was put to death on December 20.

Meanwhile war had broken out on the northern frontier of the empire. The boundary between Roman and independent Germany, as far north at

least as the divergence of the Rhine and Waal, was in fact, though not, properly speaking, in theory, the Rhine itself. The Roman province of Germany lay between Gaul and the great river. But it has been well said that the history of Roman Germany is the history of its military occupation: the upper and lower 'provinces' were really nothing but a chain of posts for the protection of the frontier. The upper or southern military district extended to a point some distance to the north of Mogontiacum (Mainz), and there and at Vindonissa or Windisch in the Swiss canton of Aargau troops were regularly stationed. The northern or lower province was garrisoned by forces at Bonna, Novaesium, and Vetera (Bonn, Neuss, Wesel): lower down, the Batavians and Frisians, living in the Rhine delta and on the N.E. bank of the river, were intrusted with the protection of their own territory. It appears that the naturally high spirit of the Batavians—that spirit which had made their soldiers the élite of the Roman armies—had been roused by extortion or injustice on the part of the imperial administrators. Civilis, a Batavian noble, the leader of the insurrectionary movement, had his own wrongs to resent. As moreover, a corps of 8,000 of their countrymen happened to be at the time near Mogontiacum, it was not unnatural that the Netherlanders should choose the autumn or late summer of 69 for the general uprising which Tacitus describes at the beginning of the fourth book.

The Romans were taken by surprise. Their legions —six in all on the Rhine, from Mainz to Wesel—

were weak and scattered: and, what was most fatal of all, as Civilis at first acted professedly in the interest of Vespasian, their forces were constantly paralysed by mutual distrust and suspicion between officers and men: for an inexplicable fidelity kept the men generally loyal to Vitellius, whereas the officers, who had more to gain from a change of régime, were usually disposed to side with Vespasian. The generals had to fear the insubordination of their own men more than the attacks of Civilis. What else was to be expected than what actually occurred? the war was a series of doubtful engagements—mutinies and murders were succeeded by moments of remorse, and these again by fresh mutiny—until by the spring of 70 four legions had joined the insurrectionary force, and two had been annihilated. Civilis was master of the field. But he had not been without allies: recent disturbances in Gaul had left that country ripe for any change: and some of the north-eastern Gauls, besides at first a few of the central communities, openly raised the standard of insurrection and proclaimed the 'imperium Galliarum.' How unpractical was the project of such a disruption of the empire is sufficiently shown by the fact that the saner Gauls recognised its impossibility even at the moment when Civilis and his allies were most triumphant. When Cerialis arrived from Rome at the seat of war in the spring of 70, the Treveri and Lingones were the first to encounter him and the first to yield: and a battle at the 'colonia Treverorum' (Trier) ended the Gallic empire. Civilis was left

alone to cope with the forces of Rome. For a time he did so not without success: but as the war dragged on the contest grew daily more hopeless for the Batavians: and when their leader saw that the disunion of his associates was likely to sacrifice him alone to the vengeance of the emperor, he adopted the prudent course of making his peace while there was yet time. The last words of the fifth book are a part of the colloquy between the revolted Batavian and the Roman general.

With the materials at our command it is impossible to explain to ourselves the object of Civilis in undertaking this war. The whole matter is as obscure as the story of Vindex and the Gallic rising in the autumn of 68. It is scarcely probable that Civilis with his knowledge of Rome can have really entertained the ambitions of an Arminius: to cut the Batavians altogether adrift from Rome must have seemed to him impossible. Altogether too little is known of his character and his intentions to justify Motley's comparison of him to a later Batavian hero, William the Silent. That he was a good soldier and a skilful negotiator may be inferred from the story of the war: as to what end he proposed to himself we must be content to remain uncertain.

But whether or not Civilis' own position was that of the patriot and liberator of his country, there is no doubt that his following was far different from that of Arminius. The Cheruscan was a leader of men who were fighting to save their homes from the foreign invader. Civilis must have relied for his

main support on the Batavian auxiliaries who fortunately for him were in the vicinity at the outbreak of the war: and probably these men were ready to follow any leader—a countryman of their own, for choice—who would give them enough fighting. They fought with that savage instinct which had for long made them as valuable to the Romans in war as they were dangerous in peace: it will be remembered that their actual dismissal from Italy was due to their quarrels with some of the legionaries there quartered. The transrhenane Germans who allied themselves with Civilis were simply fighting for plunder. But the Batavian's best weapon of all was the weakness and disunion of his enemies. The legions of the Rhine were but skeleton battalions or manned with raw recruits. Civil war had for the nonce annihilated the tradition of discipline: and in legions such as these its place was not supplied by that *esprit de corps* which made the war in Italy a war of battalion against battalion (Professor Mommsen calls it a 'Corpskrieg'), and which animated the army of Cremona to hurl itself ungeneralled and unled on the advancing legions of Antonius Primus. The soldiers on the Rhine were as insubordinate as their comrades of the south: but they were worse fighters, and in the crisis they forgot their pride in the Roman name. Had Civilis been confronted in the early autumn of 69 by such troops as those which were afterwards sent against him, Tacitus might have dismissed the Batavian revolt in half a dozen chapters.

The fifth book opens with Tacitus' preface to the

story of the war in the East—a brief sketch of Jewish history since the Maccabean period, a general description of Palestine, and a curious medley of traditions respecting the origin of the 'Chosen People.' The war itself, previous to the siege of Jerusalem, is scarcely touched, as indeed its main incidents are outside the period of which the historian is writing. Although he has no sympathy with Judaism, and regards the Jew simply as a strange and unpleasing phenomenon, yet even a Roman must have recognized that the contest was unlike any of the wars which had built up the empire. The enemies were no mere savages like the Germans, or civilized nations whose day was over, like the Greeks: for the first time Rome had to encounter a strong and virile people and a fully developed national spirit. Other nations might accept Roman customs and allow themselves to be gradually permeated by Roman ideas: but the national as well as the religious feeling of the Jew made him at once an irreconcileable and a formidable antagonist. It is no wonder that Tacitus should have done scant justice to the Hebrew's long struggle to preserve his nationality against Seleucid and Roman: but we, with a fuller knowledge of Jewish tradition and a better understanding of Judaism, may well regard the page that records the last desperate resistance to an alien domination as one of the most tragic in history.

CORNELII TACITI HISTORIARUM

LIBER III.

Council of war in the Flavian army.

I. Meliore fato fideque partium Flavianarum duces 1 consilia belli tractabant. Poetovionem in hiberna tertiae decumae legionis convenerant. illic agitavere, placeretne obstrui Pannoniae Alpes, donec a tergo vires universae consurgerent, an ire comminus et certare pro Italia constantius foret. quibus opperiri auxilia et trahere bellum videbatur, Germanicarum legionum vim famamque extollebant, et advenisse mox cum Vitellio Britannici exercitus robora: ipsis nec numerum parem pulsarum nuper legionum, et quamquam atrociter loquerentur, minorem esse apud victos animum. sed insessis interim Alpibus venturum cum copiis Orientis Mucianum; superesse Vespasiano mare, classes, studia provinciarum, per quas velut alterius belli molem cieret. ita salubri mora novas vires adfore, ex praesentibus nihil periturum.

2 II. Ad ea Antonius Primus (is acerrimus belli concitator) festinationem ipsis utilem, Vitellio exitiosam disseruit. plus socordiae quam fiduciae accessisse victoribus; neque enim in procinctu et castris habitos: per omnia Italiae municipia desides, tantum hospitibus metuendos, quanto ferocius antea egerint, tanto cupidius insolitas voluptates hausisse. circo quoque ac theatris et amoenitate urbis emollitos aut valetudinibus fessos: sed addito spatio redditurum et his robur meditatione belli; nec procul Germaniam, unde vires; Britanniam freto dirimi, iuxta Gallias Hispaniasque, utrimque viros, equos, tributa ipsamque Italiam et opes urbis; ac si inferre arma ultro velint duas classes vacuumque Illyricum mare. quid tum claustra montium profutura? quid tractum in aestatem aliam bellum? unde interim pecuniam et commeatus? quin potius eo ipso uterentur, quod Pannonicae legiones deceptae magis quam victae resurgere in ultionem properent, Moesici exercitus integras vires attulerint. si numerus militum potius quam legionum putetur, plus hinc roboris, nihil libidinum; et profuisse disciplinae ipsum pudorem: equites vero ne tum quidem victos, sed quamquam rebus adversis disiectam Vitellii aciem. ‘duae tunc Pannonicae ac Moesicae alae perrupere hostem: nunc sedecim alarum coniuncta signa pulsu sonituque et nube ipsa operient ac superfundent oblitos proeliorum equites equosque. nisi quis retinet, idem suasor auctorque consilii ero. vos, quibus fortuna in integro est, legiones continete: mihi expeditae cohortes sufficient. iam reseratam

Antonius Primus advises immediate action.

Italiam, inpulsas Vitellii res audietis. iuvabit sequi et vestigiis vincentis insistere.'

III. Haec ac talia flagrans oculis, truci voce, quo 3 latius audiretur (etenim se centuriones et quidam militum consilio miscuerant), ita effudit, ut cautos quoque ac providos permoveret, vulgus et ceteri unum virum ducemque, spreta aliorum segnitia, laudibus ferrent. hanc sui famam ea statim contione commoverat, qua recitatis Vespasiani epistulis non ut plerique incerta disseruit, huc illuc tracturus interpretatione, prout conduxisset: aperte descendisse in causam videbatur, eoque gravior militibus erat culpae vel gloriae socius.

IV. Proxima Cornelii Fusci procuratoris auctoritas. 4 is quoque inclementer in Vitellium invehi solitus nihil spei sibi inter adversa reliquerat. Tampius Flavianus, natura ac senecta cunctantior, suspiciones militum inritabat, tamquam adfinitatis cum Vitellio meminisset; idemque, quod coeptante legionum motu profugus, dein sponte remeaverat, perfidiae locum quaesisse credebatur. nam Flavianum, omissa Pannonia ingressum Italiam et discrimini exemptum, rerum novarum cupido legati nomen resumere et misceri civilibus armis impulerat, suadente Cornelio Fusco, non quia industria Flaviani egebat, sed ut consulare nomen surgentibus cum maxime partibus honesta specie praetenderetur.

Fuscus and Flavianus.

V. Ceterum ut transmittere in Italiam *bellum* 5 inpune et usui foret, scriptum Aponio Saturnino, cum exercitu Moesico celeraret. ac ne inermes provincia barbaris nationibus

Reserves and allies.

exponerentur, principes Sarmatarum Iazugum, penes quos civitatis regimen, in commilitum adsciti. plebem quoque et vim equitum, qua sola valent, offerebant: remissum id munus, ne inter discordias externa molirentur aut maiore ex diverso mercede ius fasque exuerent. trahuntur in partes Sido atque Italicus reges Sueborum, quis vetus obsequium erga Romanos et gens fidei quam iussorum patientior. opposita in latus auxilia, infesta Raetia, cui Porcius Septiminus procurator erat, incorruptae erga Vitellium fidei. igitur Sextilius Felix cum ala Auriana et octo cohortibus ac Noricorum iuventute ad occupandam ripam Aeni fluminis, quod Raetos Noricosque interfluit, missus. nec his aut illis proelium temptanibus, fortuna partium alibi transacta.

6 VI. Antonio vexillarios e cohortibus et partem equitum ad invadendam Italiam rapienti comes fuit Arrius Varus, strenuus bello, quam gloriam ei dux Corbulo et prosperae in Armenia res addiderant. idem secretis apud Neronem sermonibus ferebatur Corbulonis virtutes criminatus; unde infami gratia primum pilum adepto laeta ad praesens male parta mox in perniciem vertere. sed Primus ac Varus

Advance and first success of the Flavians.

occupata Aquileia *per* proxima quaeque et Opitergii et Altini laetis animis accipiuntur. relictum Altini praesidium adversus classis Ravenatis *conatus*, nondum defectione eius audita. inde Patavium et Ateste partibus adiunxere. illic cognitum tris Vitellianas cohortes et alam, cui Sebosianae nomen, ad Forum Alieni ponte iuncto consedisse. placuit occasio in-

vadendi incuriosos; nam id quoque nuntiabatur. luce prima inermos plerosque oppressere. praedictum, ut paucis interfectis ceteros pavore ad mutandam fidem cogerent. et fuere qui se statim dederent: plures abrupto ponte instanti hosti viam abstulerunt.

7 VII. Vulgata victoria, post principia belli secundum Flavianos data legiones septima Galbiana, tertia decuma Gemina cum Vedio Aquila legato Patavium alacres veniunt. ibi pauci dies ad requiem sumpti, et Minucius Iustus praefectus castrorum legionis septimae, quia adductius quam civili bello imperitabat, subtractus militum irae ad Vespasianum missus est. desiderata diu res interpretatione gloriaque *in* maius accipitur, postquam Galbae imagines discordia temporum subversas in omnibus municipiis recoli iussit Antonius, decorum pro causa ratus, si placere Galbae principatus et partes revirescere crederentur.

Occupation of Verona.

8 VIII. Quaesitum inde, quae sedes bello legeretur. Verona potior visa, patentibus circum campis ad pugnam equestrem, qua praevalebant: simul coloniam copiis validam auferre Vitellio in rem famamque videbatur. possessa ipso transitu Vicetia; quod per se parvum (etenim modicae municipio vires) magni momenti locum obtinuit reputantibus illic Caecinam genitum et patriam hostium duci ereptam. in Veronensibus pretium fuit: exemplo opibusque partes iuvere; et interiectus exercitus Raetiam Iuliasque Alpes, [ac] ne pervium illa Germanicis exercitibus foret, obsaepserat. quae ignara Vespasiano aut vetita: quippe Aquileiae sisti bellum exspectarique Mucianum iubebat, adiciebatque

imperio consilium, quando Aegyptus, claustra annonae, vectigalia opulentissimarum provinciarum obtinerentur, posse Vitellii exercitum egestate stipendii frumentique ad deditionem subigi. eadem Mucianus crebris epistulis monebat, incruentam et sine luctu victoriam et alia huiusce modi praetexendo, sed gloriae avidus atque omne belli decus sibi retinens. ceterum ex distantibus terrarum spatiis consilia post res adferebantur.

Not the policy of Vespasian and Mucianus.

9 IX. Igitur repentino incursu Antonius stationes hostium inrupit; temptatisque levi proelio animis ex aequo discessum. mox Caecina inter Hostiliam, vicum Veronensium, et paludes Tartari fluminis castra permuniit, tutus loco, cum terga flumine, latera obiectu paludis tegerentur. quod si adfuisset fides, aut opprimi universis Vitellianorum viribus duae legiones, nondum coniuncto Moesico exercitu, potuere, aut retro actae deserta Italia turpem fugam conscivissent. sed Caecina per varias moras prima hostibus prodidit tempora belli, dum quos armis pellere promptum erat, epistulis increpat, donec per nuntios pacta perfidiae firmaret. interim Aponius Saturnius cum legione septima Claudiana advenit. legioni tribunus Vipstanus Messalla praeerat, claris maioribus, egregius ipse et qui solus ad id bellum artes bonas attulisset. has ad copias nequaquam Vitellianis pares (quippe tres adhuc legiones erant) misit epistulas Caecina, temeritatem victa arma tractantium incusans. simul virtus Germanici exercitus laudibus attollebatur, Vitellii modica et vulgari mentione,

Caecina negotiates with the Flavians.

nulla in Vespasianum contumelia: nihil prorsus, quod aut corrumperet hostem aut terreret. Flavianarum partium duces omissa prioris fortunae defensione pro Vespasiano magnifice, pro causa fidenter, de exitu securi, in Vitellium ut inimici praesumpsere, facta tribunis centurionibusque retinendi quae Vitellius indulsisset spe; atque ipsum Caecinam non obscure ad transitionem hortabantur. recitatae pro contione epistulae addidere fiduciam, quod submisse Caecina, velut offendere Vespasianum timens, ipsorum duces contemptim tamquam insultantes Vitellio scripsissent.

X. Adventu deinde duarum legionum, e quibus **10**
tertiam Dillius Aponianus, octavam Numisius Lupus ducebant, ostentare vires et militari vallo Veronam circumdare placuit. forte Galbianae legioni in adversa fronte valli opus cesserat, et visi procul sociorum equites vanam formidinem ut hostes fecere. rapiuntur arma metu proditionis. ira militum in Tampium Flavianum incubuit, nullo criminis argumento, sed iam pridem invisus turbine quodam ad exitium poscebatur: propinquum Vitellii, proditorem Othonis, interceptorem donativi clamitabant. nec defensioni locus, quamquam supplices manus tenderet, humi plerumque stratus, lacera veste, pectus atque ora singultu quatiens. id ipsum apud infensos incitamentum erat, tamquam nimius pavor conscientiam argueret. obturbatur militum vocibus Aponius, cum loqui coeptaret; fremitu et clamore ceteros aspernantur. uni Antonio apertae militum aures; namque et facundia aderat mulcendique vulgum

Mutiny in the Flavian army:

artes et auctoritas. ubi crudescere seditio et a conviciis ac probris ad tela et manus transibant, inici catenas Flaviano iubet. sensit ludibrium miles, disiectisque qui tribunal tuebantur extrema vis parabatur. opposuit sinum Antonius stricto ferro, aut militum se manibus aut suis moriturum obtestans, ut quemque notum et aliquo militari decore insignem adspexerat, ad ferendam opem nomine ciens. mox conversus ad signa et bellorum deos, hostium potius exercitibus illum furorem, illam discordiam inicerent orabat, donec fatisceret seditio et extremo iam die sua quisque in tentoria dilaberentur. profectus eadem nocte Flavianus obviis Vespasiani litteris discrimini exemptus est.

expulsion of Tampius Flavianus

11 XI. Legiones velut tabe infectae Aponium Saturninum Moesici exercitus legatum eo atrocius adgrediuntur, quod non, ut prius, labore et opera fessae, sed medio diei exarserant, vulgatis epistulis, quas Saturninus ad Vitellium scripsisse credebatur. ut olim virtutis modestiaeque, tunc procacitatis et petulantiae certamen erat, ne minus violenter Aponium quam Flavianum ad supplicium deposcerent. quippe Moesicae legiones adiutam a se Pannonicorum ultionem referentes, et Pannonici, velut absolverentur aliorum seditione, iterare culpam gaudebant. in hortos, in quibus devertebatur Saturninus, pergunt. nec tam Primus et Aponianus et Messalla, quamquam omni modo nisi, eripuere Saturninum, quam obscuritas latebrarum, quibus occulebatur, vacantium forte balnearum fornacibus abditus. mox omissis lictoribus Patavium concessit. digressu consularium

and Saturninus.

uni Antonio vis ac potestas in utrumque exercitum fuit, cedentibus collegis et obversis militum studiis. nec deerant qui crederent utramque seditionem fraude Antonii coeptam, ut solus bello frueretur.

XII. Ne in Vitellii quidem partibus quietae mentes : 12
exitiosiore discordia non suspicionibus vulgi, sed perfidia ducum turbabantur. Lucilius Bassus classis Ravennatis praefectus ambiguos militum animos, quod magna pars Delmatae Pannoniique erant, quae provinciae Vespasiano tenebantur, partibus eius adgregaverat. nox proditioni electa, ut ceteris ignaris soli in principia defectores coirent. Bassus pudore seu metu, quisnam exitus foret, intra domum opperiebatur. trierarchi magno tumultu Vitellii imagines invadunt ; et paucis resistentium obtruncatis ceterum vulgus rerum novarum studio in Vespasianum inclinabat. tum progressus Lucilius auctorem se palam praebet. classis Cornelium Fuscum praefectum sibi destinat, qui propere adcucurrit. Bassus honorata custodia Liburnicis navibus Atriam pervectus a praefecto alae Vivennio Rufino, praesidium illic agitante, vincitur, sed exsoluta statim vincula interventu Hormi Caesaris liberti : is quoque inter duces habebatur.

Defection of Vitellius' fleet at Ravenna.

XIII. At Caecina, defectione classis vulgata, pri- 13
mores centurionum et paucos militum, ceteris per militae munia dispersis, secretum castrorum adfectans in principia vocat. ibi Vespasiani virtutem viresque partium extollit ; transfugisse classem, in arto commeatum, adversas Gallias Hispaniasque, nihil in urbe fidum ;

Attempted but unsuccessful treachery of Caecina.

atque omnia de Vitellio in deterius. mox incipientibus qui conscii aderant, ceteros re nova attonitos in verba Vespasiani adigit; simul Vitellii imagines dereptae et missi qui Antonio nuntiarent. sed ubi totis castris in fama proditio, recurrens in principia miles praescriptum Vespasiani nomen, proiectas Vitellii effigies adspexit, vastum primo silentium, mox cuncta simul erumpunt. huc cecidisse Germanici exercitus gloriam, ut sine proelio, sine vulnere vinctas manus et capta traderent arma? quas enim ex diverso legiones? nempe victas; et abesse unicum Othoniani exercitus robur, primanos quartadecumanosque, quos tamen isdem illis campis fuderint straverintque. ut *tot* armatorum milia, velut grex venalium, exuli Antonio donum darentur? octo nimirum legiones unius classis accessionem fore. id Basso, id Caecinae visum, postquam domus hortos opes principi abstulerint, etiam auferre militem. integros incruentosque, Flavianis quoque partibus viles, quid dicturos reposcentibus aut prospera aut adversa?

The Vitellians occupy Cremona.

14 XIV. Haec singuli, haec universi, ut quemque dolor inpulerat, vociferantes, initio a quinta legione orto, repositis Vitellii imaginibus vincla Caecinae iniciunt; Fabium Fabullum quintae legionis legatum et Cassium Longum praefectum castrorum duces deligunt; forte oblatos trium Liburnicarum milites, ignaros et insontes, trucidant; relictis castris abrupto ponte Hostiliam rursus, inde Cremonam pergunt, ut legionibus primae Italicae et unietvicensimae Rapaci iungerentur, quas Caecina ad obtinendam Cremonam cum parte equitum praemiserat.

Advance of Antonius to Bedriacum.

XV. Ubi haec comperta Antonio, discordes animis, 15
discretos viribus hostium exercitus adgredi statuit, antequam ducibus auctoritas, militi obsequium et iunctis legionibus fiducia rediret. namque Fabium Valentem profectum ab urbe adceleraturumque cognita Caecinae proditione coniectabat; et fidus Vitellio Fabius nec militiae ignarus. simul ingens Germanorum vis per Raetiam timebatur. ex Britannia Galliaque et Hispania auxilia Vitellius acciverat, inmensam belli molem, ni Antonius id ipsum mentuens festinato proelio victoriam praecepisset. universo cum exercitu secundis a Verona castris Bedriacum venit. postero die legionibus ad muniendum retentis, auxiliares cohortes in Cremonensem agrum missae, ut specie parandarum copiarum civili praeda milites inbuerentur: ipse cum quattuor milibus equitum ad octavum a Bedriaco progressus, quo licentius popularentur. exploratores, ut mos est, longius cursabant.

Engagement near Cremona.

XVI. Quinta ferme hora diei erat, cum citus eques 16
adventare hostes, praegredi paucos, motum fremitumque late audiri nuntiavit. dum Antonius quidnam agendum consultat, aviditate navandae operae Arrius Varus cum promptissimis equitum prorupit impulitque Vitellianos modica caede; nam plurium adcursu versa fortuna, et acerrimus quisque sequentium fugae citissimus erat. nec sponte Antonii properatum, et fore quae acciderunt rebatur. hortatus suos ut magno animo capesserent pugnam, diductis in latera turmis vacuum medio relinquit iter, quo Varum equitesque eius reciperet;

iussae armari legiones: datum per agros signum ut, qua cuique proximum, omissa praeda proelio occurreret. pavidus interim Varus turbae suorum miscetur intulitque formidinem. pulsi cum sauciis integri suomet ipsi metu et angustiis viarum conflictabantur.

17 XVII. Nullum in illa trepidatione Antonius constantis ducis aut fortis militis officium omisit. occursare paventibus, retinere cedentes, ubi plurimus labor, unde aliqua spes, consilio manu voce insignis hosti, conspicuus suis. eo postremo ardoris provectus est, ut vexillarium fugientem hasta transverberaret; mox raptum vexillum in hostem vertit. quo pudore haud plures quam centum equites restitere; iuvit locus, artiore illic via et fracto interfluentis rivi ponte, qui incerto alveo et praecipitibus ripis fugam impediebat. ea necessitas seu fortuna lapsas iam partes restituit. firmati inter se densis ordinibus excipiunt Vitellianos temere effusos, atque illi consternantur. Antonius instare perculsis, sternere obvios, simul ceteri, ut cuique ingenium, spoliare, capere, arma equosque abripere. et exciti prospero clamore, qui modo per agros fuga palabantur, victoriae se miscebant.

18 XVIII. Ad quartum a Cremona lapidem fulsere legionum signa Rapacis atque Italicae, laeto inter initia equitum suorum proelio illuc usque provecta. sed ubi fortuna contra fuit, non laxare ordines, non recipere turbatos, non obviam ire ultroque adgredi hostem tantum per spatium cursu et pugnando fessum. forte ducti haud perinde rebus prosperis ducem

desideraverant atque in adversis deesse intellegebant. nutantem aciem victor equitatus incursat; et Vipstanus Messalla tribunus cum Moesicis auxiliaribus adsequitur, quos multi e legionariis quamquam raptim ductos aequabant: ita mixtus pedes equesque rupere legionum agmen. et propinqua Cremonensium moenia quanto plus spei ad effugium, minorem ad resistendum animum dabant. nec Antonius ultra institit, memor laboris ac vulnerum, quibus tam anceps proelii fortuna, quamvis prospero fine, equites equosque adflictaverat.

Eagerness of the Flavian troops to attack the town

XIX. Inumbrante vespera universum Flaviani exercitus robur advenit. 19 utque cumulos super et recentia caede vestigia incessere, quasi debellatum foret, pergere Cremonam et victos in deditionem accipere aut expugnare deposcunt. haec in medio, pulchra dictu: illa sibi quisque, posse coloniam plano sitam impetu capi. idem audaciae per tenebras inrumpentibus et maiorem rapiendi licentiam. quod si lucem opperiantur, iam pacem, iam preces, et pro labore ac vulneribus clementiam et gloriam, inania, laturos, sed opes Cremonensium in sinu praefectorum legatorumque fore. expugnatae urbis praedam ad militem, deditae ad duces pertinere. spernuntur centuriones tribunique, ac ne vox cuiusquam audiatur, quatiunt arma, rupturi imperium, ni ducantur.

XX. Tum Antonius inserens se manipulis, ubi 20 adspectu et auctoritate silentium fecerat, non se decus neque pretium eripere tam bene meritis adfirmabat, sed divisa inter exercitum ducesque munia: militibus

cupidinem pugnandi convenire, duces providendo, consultando, cunctatione saepius quam temeritate prodesse. ut pro virili portione armis ac manu victoriam iuverit, ratione et consilio, propriis ducis artibus, profuturum; neque enim ambigua esse, quae occurrant, noctem et ignotae situm urbis, intus hostes et cuncta insidiis opportuna. non si pateant portae, nisi explorato, nisi die intrandum. an obpugnationem inchoaturos adempto omni prospectu, quis aequus locus, quanta altitudo moenium, tormentisne et telis an operibus et vineis adgredienda urbs foret? mox conversus ad singulos, num secures dolabrasque et cetera expugnandis urbibus secum attulissent, rogitabat. et cum abnuerent, 'gladiisne' inquit 'et pilis perfringere ac subruere muros ullae manus possunt? si aggerem struere, si pluteis cratibusve protegi necesse fuerit, ut vulgus inprovidum inriti stabimus, altitudinem turrium et aliena munimenta mirantes? quin potius mora noctis unius, advectis tormentis machinisque, vim victoriamque nobiscum ferimus?' simul lixas calonesque cum recentissimis equitum Bedriacum mittit, copias ceteraque usui adlaturos.

checked by Antonius.

21 XXI. Id vero aegre tolerante milite prope seditionem ventum, cum progressi equites sub ipsa moenia vagos e Cremonensibus corripiunt, quorum indicio noscitur sex Vitellianas legiones omnemque exercitum, que Hostiliae egerat, eo ipso die triginta milia passuum emensum, comperta suorum clade in proelium accingi ac iam adfore. is terror obstructas mentes consiliis ducis aperuit. sistere tertiam decumam le-

gionem in ipso viae Postumiae aggere iubet, cui iuncta a laevo septima Galbiana patenti campo stetit, dein septima Claudiana, agresti fossa (ita locus erat) praemunita; dextro octava per apertum limitem, mox tertia densis arbustis intersaepta. hic aquilarum signorumque ordo: milites mixti per tenebras, ut fors tulerat; praetorianum vexillum proximum tertianis, cohortes auxiliorum in cornibus, latera ac terga equite circumdata; Sido atque Italicus Suebi cum delectis popularium primore in acie versabantur.

XXII. At Vitellianus exercitus, cui adquiescere Cremonae et reciperatis cibo somnoque viribus confectum algore atque inedia hostem postera die profligare ac proruere ratio fuit, indigus rectoris, inops consilii, tertia ferme noctis hora paratis iam dispositisque Flavianis inpingitur. ordinem agminis disiecti per iram ac tenebras adseverare non ausim, quamquam alii tradiderint quartam Macedonicam dextrum suorum cornu, quintam et quintam decumam cum vexillis nonae secundaeque et vicensimae Britannicarum legionum mediam aciem, sextadecumanos duoetvicensimanosque et primanos laevum cornu complesse. Rapaces atque Italici omnibus se manipulis miscuerant; eques auxiliaque sibi ipsi locum legere. proelium tota nocte varium, anceps, atrox, his, rursus illis exitiabile. nihil animus aut manus, ne oculi quidem provisu iuvabant. eadem utraque acie arma, crebris interrogationibus notum pugnae signum, permixta vexilla, ut quisque globus capta ex hostibus huc vel illuc raptabat. urguebatur maxime septima 22

Battle before the walls.

legio, nuper a Galba conscripta. occisi sex primorum ordinum centuriones, abrepta quaedam signa: ipsam aquilam Atilius Verus primi pili centurio multa cum hostium strage et ad extremum moriens servaverat.

23 XXIII. Sustinuit labentem aciem Antonius accitis praetorianis. qui ubi excepere pugnam, pellunt hostem, dein pelluntur. namque Vitelliani tormenta in aggerem viae contulerant, ut tela vacuo atque aperto excuterentur, dispersa primo et arbustis sine hostium noxa inlisa. magnitudine eximia quintae decumae legionis ballista ingentibus saxis hostilem aciem proruebat. lateque cladem intulisset, ni duo milites praeclarum facinus ausi, arreptis e strage scutis ignorati, vincla ac libramenta [tormentorum] abscidissent. statim confossi sunt eoque intercidere nomina: de facto haud ambigitur. neutro inclinaverat fortuna, donec adulta nocte luna surgens ostenderet acies falleretque. sed Flavianis aequior a tergo; hinc maiores equorum virorumque umbrae, et falso, ut in corpora, ictu tela hostium citra cadebant: Vitelliani adverso lumine conlucentes velut ex occulto iaculantibus incauti offerebantur.

24 XXIV. Igitur Antonius, ubi noscere suos noscique poterat, alios pudore et probris, multos laude et hortatu, omnes spe promissisque accendens, cur resumpsissent arma, Pannonicas legiones interrogabat: illos esse campos, in quibus abolere labem prioris ignominiae, ubi reciperare gloriam possent. tum ad Moesicos conversus principes auctoresque belli ciebat: frustra minis et verbis provocatos Vitellianos, si manus eorum oculosque non tolerent. haec, ut quosque

accesserat; plura ad tertianos, veterum recentiumque admonens, ut sub M. Antonio Parthos, sub Corbulone Armenios, nuper Sarmatas pepulissent. mox infensius praetorianis 'vos' inquit, 'nisi vincitis, pagani, quis alius imperator, quae castra alia excipient? illic signa armaque vestra sunt, et mors victis; nam ignominiam consumpsistis.' undique clamor, et orientem solem (ita in Suria mos est) tertiani salutavere.

XXV. Vagus inde an consilio ducis subditus rumor, 25
adveniisse Mucianum, exercitus in vicem salutasse. gradum inferunt quasi recentibus auxiliis aucti, rariore iam Vitellianorum acie, ut quos nullo rectore suus quemque impetus vel pavor contraheret diduceretve. postquam inpulsos sensit Antonius, denso agmine obturbabat. laxati ordines abrumpuntur, nec restitui quivere inpedientibus vehiculis tormentisque. per limitem viae sparguntur festinatione consectandi victores. eo notabilior caedes fuit, quia filius patrem interfecit. rem nominaque auctore Vipstano Messalla tradam. Iulius Mansuetus ex Hispania, Rapaci legioni additus, inpubem filium domi liquerat. is mox adultus, inter septimanos a Galba conscriptus, oblatum forte patrem et vulnere stratum dum semianimem scrutatur, adgnitus adgnoscensque et exsanguem amplexus, voce flebili precabatur piatos patris manes, neve se ut parricidam aversarentur: publicum id facinus; et unum militem quotam civilium armorum partem? simul attollere corpus, aperire humum, supremo erga parentem officio fungi.

Defeat of the Vitellians.

Story of Mansuetus.

advertere proximi, deinde plures: hinc per omnem aciem miraculum et questus et saevissimi belli exsecratio. nec eo segnius propinquos adfinis fratres trucidant spoliant: factum esse scelus loquuntur faciuntque.

26 XXVI. Ut Cremonam venere, novum immensumque opus occurrit. Othoniano bello Germanicus miles moenibus Cremonensium castra sua, castris vallum circumiecerat eaque munimenta rursus auxerat. quorum adspectu haesere victores, incertis ducibus quid iuberent. incipere obpugnationem fesso per diem noctemque exercitu arduum et nullo iuxta subsidio anceps: sin Bedriacum redirent, intolerandus tam longi itineris labor, et victoria ad inritum revolvebatur: munire castra, id quoque propinquis hostibus formidolosum, ne dispersos et opus molientes subita eruptione turbarent. quae super cuncta terrebat ipsorum miles periculi quam morae patientior: quippe ingrata quae tuta, ex temeritate spes; omnisque caedes et vulnera et sanguis aviditate praedae pensabantur.

Antonius attacks the Vitellian camp

27 XXVII. Huc inclinavit Antonius cingique vallum corona iussit. primo sagittis saxisque eminus certabant, maiore Flavianorum pernicie, in quos tela desuper librabantur; mox vallum portasque legionibus attribuit, ut discretus labor fortes ignavosque distingueret atque ipsa contentione decoris accenderentur. proxima Bedriacensi viae tertiani septimanique sumpsere, dexteriora valli octava ac septima Claudiana; tertiadecumanos ad Brixianam portam impetus tulit.

paulum inde morae, dum ex proximis agris ligones dolabras et alii falces scalasque convectant: tum elatis super capita scutis densa testudine succedunt. Romanae utrimque artes: pondera saxorum Vitelliani provolvunt, disiectam fluitantemque testudinem lanceis contisque scrutantur, donec soluta compage scutorum exsangues aut laceros prosternerent multa cum strage. incesserat cunctatio, ni duces fesso militi et velut inritas exhortationes abnuenti Cremonam monstrâssent.

XXVIII. Hormine id ingenium, ut Messala tradit, **28**
an potior auctor sit C. Plinius, qui Antonium incusat, haud facile discreverim, nisi quod neque Antonius neque Hormus a fama vitaque sua quamvis pessimo flagitio degeneravere. non iam sanguis neque vulnera morabantur, quin subruerent vallum quaterentque portas, innixi umeris et super iteratam testudinem scandentes prensarent hostium tela brachiaque. integri cum saucii, semineces cum exspirantibus volvuntur, varia pereuntium forma et omni imagine mortium.

XXIX. Acerrimum tertiae septimaeque legionum **29**
certamen; et dux Antonius cum delectis auxiliaribus eodem incubuerat. obstinatos inter se cum sustinere Vitelliani nequirent et superiacta tela *de* testudine laberentur, ipsam postremo ballistam in subeuntes propulere, quae ut ad praesens disiecit obruitque quos inciderat, ita pinnas ac summa valli ruina sua traxit; simul iuncta turris ictibus saxorum cessit, qua septimani dum nituntur cuneis, tertianus *and takes it.* securibus gladiisque portam perfregit. primum

inrupisse C. Volusium tertiae legionis militem inter omnes auctores constat. is in vallum egressus, deturbatis qui restiterant, conspicuus manu ac voce capta castra conclamavit; ceteri trepidis iam Vitellianis seque e vallo praecipitantibus perrupere. completur caede quantum inter castra murosque vacui fuit.

30 XXX. Ac rursus nova laborum facies: ardua urbis moenia, saxeae turres, ferrati portarum obices, vibrans tela miles, frequens obstrictusque Vitellianis partibus Cremonensis populus, magna pars Italiae stato in eosdem dies mercatu congregata, quod defensoribus auxilium ob multitudinem, obpugnantibus incitamentum ob praedam erat. rapi ignes Antonius inferrique amoenissimis extra urbem aedificiis iubet, si damno rerum suarum Cremonenses ad mutandam fidem traherentur. propinqua muris tecta et altitudinem moenium egressa fortissimo quoque militum complet; illi trabibus tegulisque et facibus propugnatores deturbant.

31 XXXI. Iam legiones in testudinem glomerabantur, et alii tela saxaque incutiebant, cum languescere paulatim Vitellianorum animi. ut quis ordine anteibat, cedere fortunae, ne Cremona quoque excisa nulla ultra venia omnisque ira victoris non in vulgus inops, sed in tribunos centurionesque, ubi pretium caedis erat, reverteretur. gregarius miles futuri socors et ignobilitate tutior perstabat: vagi per vias, in domibus abditi pacem ne tum quidem orabant, cum bellum posuissent. primores castrorum nomen atque imagines Vitellii amoliuntur; catenas Caecinae

Surrender of the Vitellian army.

(nam etiam tunc vinctus erat) exsolvunt orantque, ut causae suae deprecator adsistat. aspernantem tumentemque lacrimis fatigant, extremum malorum, tot fortissimi viri proditoris opem invocantes; mox velamenta et infulas pro muris ostentant. cum Antonius inhiberi tela iussisset, signa aquilasque extulere; maestum inermium agmen deiectis in terram oculis sequebatur. circumstiterant victores et primo ingerebant probra, intentabant ictus: mox, ut praeberi ora contumeliis et posita omni ferocia cuncta victi patiebantur, subit recordatio illos esse, qui nuper Bedriaci victoriae temperassent. sed ubi Caecina praetexta lictoribusque insignis, dimota turba, consul incessit, exarsere victores: superbiam saevitiamque (adeo invisa scelera sunt), etiam perfidiam obiectabant. obstitit Antonius datisque defensoribus ad Vespasianum dimisit.

XXXII. Plebs interim Cremonensium inter armatos 32
conflictabatur; nec procul caede aberant, cum precibus ducum mitigatus est miles. et vocatos ad contionem Antonius adloquitur, magnifice victores, victos clementer, de Cremona in neutrum. exercitus praeter insitam praedandi cupidinem vetere odio ad excidium Cremonensium incubuit. iuvisse partes Vitellianas Othonis quoque bello credebantur; mox tertiadecumanos ad extruendum amphitheatrum relictos, ut sunt procacia urbanae plebis ingenia, petulantibus iurgiis inluserant. auxit invidiam editum illic a Caecina gladiatorum spectaculum eademque rursus belli sedes et praebiti in acie Vitellianis cibi, caesae

quaedam feminae studio partium ad proelium progressae; tempus quoque mercatus ditem alioqui coloniam maiore opum specie complebat. ceteri duces in obscuro: Antonium fortuna famaque omnium oculis exposuerat. is balineas abluendo cruori propere petit. excepta vox est, cum teporem incusaret, statim futurum ut incalescerent: vernile dictum omnem invidiam in eum vertit, tamquam signum incendendae Cremonae dedisset, quae iam flagrabat.

33 XXXIII. Quadraginta armatorum milia inrupere, calonum lixarumque amplior numerus et in libidinem ac saevitiam corruptior. non dignitas, non aetas protegebat, quo minus stupra caedibus, caedes stupris miscerentur. grandaevos senes, exacta aetate feminas, viles ad praedam, in ludibrium trahebant: ubi adulta virgo aut quis forma conspicuus incidisset, vi manibusque rapientium divulsus ipsos postremo direptores in mutuam perniciem agebat. dum pecuniam vel gravia auro templorum dona sibi quisque trahunt, maiore aliorum vi truncabantur. quidam obvia aspernati verberibus tormentisque dominorum abdita scrutari, defossa eruere: faces in manibus, quas, ubi praedam egesserant, in vacuas domos et inania templa per lasciviam iaculabantur; utque exercitu vario linguis moribus, cui cives socii externi interessent, diversae cupidines et aliud cuique fas nec quicquam inlicitum. per quadriduum Cremona suffecit. cum omnia sacra profanaque in ignem considerent, solum Mefitis templum stetit ante moenia, loco seu numine defensum.

Sack of Cremona.

XXXIV. Hic exitus Cremonae anno ducentesimo 34
octogesimo sexto a primordio sui. condita erat Ti. Sempronio P. Cornelio consulibus, ingruente in Italiam Annibale, propugnaculum adversus Gallos trans Padum agentes et si qua alia vis per Alpes rueret. igitur numero colonorum, opportunitate fluminum, ubere agri, adnexu conubiisque gentium adolevit floruitque, bellis externis intacta, civilibus infelix. Antonius pudore flagitii, crebrescente invidia, edixit ne quis Cremonensem captivum detineret. inritamque praedam militibus effecerat consensus Italiae, emptionem talium mancipiorum aspernantis: occidi coepere; quod ubi enotuit, a propinquis adfinibusque occulte redemptabantur. mox rediit Cremonam reliquus populus: reposita fora templaque magnificentia municipum; et Vespasianus hortabatur.

Its previous history.

XXXV. Ceterum adsidere sepultae urbis ruinis 35
noxia tabo humus haud diu permisit. ad tertium lapidem progressi vagos paventesque Vitellianos, sua quemque apud signa, componunt; et victae legiones, ne manente adhuc civili bello ambigue agerent, per Illyricum dispersae. in Britanniam inde et Hispanias nuntios famamque, in Galliam Iulium Calenum tribunum, in Germaniam Alpinium Montanum praefectum cohortis, quod hic Trevir, Calenus Aeduus, uterque Vitelliani fuerant, ostentui misere. simul transitus Alpium praesidiis occupati, suspecta Germania, tamquam in auxilium Vitellii adcingeretur.

Messages of the victory.

XXXVI. At Vitellius profecto Caecina, cum Fab- 36

Supineness of Vitellius.

ium Valentem paucis post diebus ad bellum inpulisset, curis luxum obtendebat: non parare arma, non adloquio exercitioque militem firmare, non in ore vulgi agere, sed umbraculis hortorum abditus, ut ignava animalia, quibus si cibum suggeras, iacent torpentque, preterita instantia futura pari oblivione dimiserat. atque illum in nemore Aricino desidem et marcentem proditio Lucilii Bassi ac defectio classis Ravennatis perculit: nec multo post de Caecina adfertur mixtus gaudio dolor, et descivisse et ab exercitu vinctum. plus apud socordem animum laetitia quam cura valuit. multa cum exsultatione in urbem revectus frequenti contione pietatem militum laudibus cumulat; Publilium Sabinum praetorii praefectum ob amicitiam Caecinae vinciri iubet, substituto in locum eius Alfeno Varo.

The senate's condemnation of Caecina.

37 XXXVII. Mox senatum composita in magnificentiam oratione adlocutus, exquisitis patrum adulationibus attollitur. initium atrocis in Caecinam sententiae a L. Vitellio factum; dein ceteri composita indignatione, quod consul rem publicam, dux imperatorem, tantis opibus tot honoribus cumulatus amicum prodidisset, velut pro Vitellio conquerentes, suum dolorem proferebant. nulla in oratione cuiusquam erga Flavianos duces obtrectatio: errorem imprudentiamque exercitum culpantes, Vespasiani nomen suspensi et vitabundi circumibant, nec defuit qui unum consulatus diem (is enim in locum Caecinae supererat) magno cum inrisu tribuentis accipientisque eblandiretur. pridie kalendas Novembris Rosius

Regulus iniit eiuravitque. adnotabant periti numquam antea non abrogato magistratu neque lege lata alium subfectum; nam consul uno die et ante fuerat Caninius Rebilus C. Caesare dictatore, cum belli civilis praemia festinarentur.

XXXVIII. Nota per eos dies Iunii Blaesi mors et 38
famosa fuit, de qua sic accepimus. gravi corporis morbo aeger Vitellius Servilianis hortis turrim vicino sitam conlucere per noctem crebris luminibus animadvertit. sciscitanti causam apud Caecinam Tuscum epulari multos, praecipuum honore Iunium Blaesum nuntiatur; cetera in maius, de apparatu et solutis in lasciviam animis. nec defuere qui ipsum Tuscum et alios, sed criminosius Blaesum incusarent, quod aegro principe laetos dies ageret. ubi asperatum Vitellium et posse Blaesum perverti satis patuit iis, qui principum offensas acriter speculantur, datae L. Vitellio delationis partes. ille infensus Blaeso aemulatione prava, quod eum omni dedecore maculosum egregia fama anteibat, cubiculum imperatoris reserat, filium eius sinu complexus et genibus accidens. causam confusionis quaerenti, non se proprio metu nec sui anxium, sed pro fratre, pro liberis fratris preces lacrimasque attulisse. frustra Vespasianum timeri, quem tot Germanicae legiones, tot provinciae virtute ac fide, tantum denique terrarum ac maris inmensis spatiis arceat: in urbe ac sinu cavendum hostem, Iunios Antoniosque avos iactantem, qui se stirpe imperatoria comem ac magnificum militibus ostentet. versas illuc omnium mentes, dum Vitellius amicorum inimicorumque neglegens fovet

Junius Blaesus is put to death.

aemulum principis labores e convivio prospectantem. reddendam pro intempestiva laetitia maestam et funebrem noctem, qua sciat et sentiat vivere Vitellium et imperare et, si quid fato accidat, filium habere.

39 XXXIX. Trepidanti inter scelus metumque, ne dilata Blaesi mors maturam perniciem, palam iussa atrocem invidiam ferret, placuit veneno grassari; addidit facinori fidem notabili gaudio, Blaesum visendo. quin et audita est saevissima Vitellii vox, qua se (ipsa enim verba referam) pavisse oculis spectata inimici morte iactavit. Blaeso super claritatem natalium et elegantiam morum fidei obstinatio fuit.

His character.

integris quoque rebus a Caecina et primoribus partium iam Vitellium aspernantibus ambitus abnuere perseveravit. sanctus, inturbidus, nullius repentini honoris, adeo non principatus appetens, parum effugerat, ne dignus crederetur.

Valens hears of the defection of the fleet.

40 XL. Fabius interim Valens multo ac molli concubinarum spadonumque agmine segnius quam ad bellum incedens, proditam a Lucilio Basso Ravennatem classem pernicibus nuntiis accepit. et si coeptum iter properasset, nutantem Caecinam praevenire aut ante discrimen pugnae adsequi legiones potuisset; nec deerant qui monerent, ut cum fidissimis per occultos tramites vitata Ravenna Hostiliam Cremonamve pergeret. aliis placebat accitis ex urbe praetoriis cohortibus valida manu perrumpere: ipse inutili cunctatione agendi tempora consultando consumpsit; mox utrumque consilium aspernatus, quod inter ancipitia deter-

rimum est, dum media sequitur, nec ausus est satis nec providit.

XLI. Missis ad Vitellium litteris auxilium postulat. 41 venere tres cohortes cum ala Britannica, neque ad fallendum aptus numerus neque ad penetrandum. sed Valens ne in tanto quidem discrimine infamia caruit, quo minus rapere inlicitas voluptates adulteriisque ac stupris polluere hospitum domus crederetur: aderant vis et pecunia et ruentis fortunae novissima libido. adventu demum peditum equitumque pravitas consilii patuit, quia nec vadere per hostes tam parva manu poterat, etiam si fidissima foret, nec integram fidem attulerant; pudor tamen et praesentis ducis reverentia morabatur, haud diuturna vincla apud pavidos periculorum et dedecoris securos. eo metu cohortes Ariminum praemittit, alam tueri terga iubet: ipse paucis, quos adversa non mutaverant, comitantibus flexit in Umbriam atque inde Etruriam, ubi cognito pugnae Cremonensis eventu non ignavum et, si provenisset, atrox consilium iniit, ut arreptis navibus in quamcumque partem Narbonensis provinciae egressus Gallias et exercitus et Germaniae gentes novumque bellum cieret.

He resolves to take refuge in Gaul.

XLII. Digresso Valente trepidos, qui Ariminum 42 tenebant, Cornelius Fuscus, admoto exercitu et missis per proxima litorum Liburnicis, terra marique circumvenit: occupantur plana Umbriae et qua Picenus ager Hadria adluitur, omnisque Italia inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium Appennini iugis dividebatur. Fabius Valens e sinu Pisano segnitia maris aut

adversante vento portum Herculis Monoeci depellitur. haud procul inde agebat Marius Maturus Alpium maritimarum procurator, fidus Vitellio, cuius sacramentum cunctis circa hostilibus nondum exuerat. is Valentem comiter exceptum, ne Galliam Narbonensem temere ingrederetur, monendo terruit; simul ceterorum fides metu infracta.

43 XLIII. Namque circumiectas civitates procurator Valerius Paulinus, strenuus militiae et Vespasiano ante fortunam amicus, in verba eius adegerat; concitisque omnibus, qui exauctorati a Vitellio bellum sponte sumebant, Foroiuliensem coloniam, claustra maris, praesidio tuebatur, eo gravior auctor, quod Paulino patria Forum Iuli et honos apud praetorianos, quorum quondam tribunus fuerat, ipsique pagani favore municipali et futurae potentiae spe iuvare partes adnitebantur. quae ut paratu firma et aucta rumore apud varios Vitellianorum animos increbruere, Fabius Valens cum quattuor speculatoribus et tribus amicis, totidem centurionibus, ad naves regreditur; Maturo ceterisque remanere et in verba Vespasiani adigi volentibus fuit. ceterum ut mare tutius Valenti quam litora aut urbes, ita futuri ambiguus et magis quid vitaret quam cui fideret certus, adversa tempestate Stoechadas Massiliensium insulas defertur. ibi eum missae a Paulino Liburnicae oppressere.

He is arrested near Massilia.

44 XLIV. Capto Valente cuncta ad victoris opes conversa, initio per Hispaniam a prima Adiutrice legione orto, quae memoria Othonis infensa Vitellio decumam quoque ac sextam traxit. nec Galliae cunctabantur.

at Britanniam inclinatus erga Vespasianum favor, quod illic secundae legioni a Claudio praepositus et bello clarus egerat, non sine motu adiunxit ceterarum, in quibus plerique centuriones ac milites a Vitellio provecti expertum iam principem anxii mutabant.

The western provinces join Vespasian.

XLV. Ea discordia et crebris belli civilis rumoribus 45
Britanni sustulere animos auctore Venutio, qui super insitam ferociam et Romani nominis odium propriis in Cartimanduam reginam stimulis accendèbatur. Cartimandua Brigantibus imperitabat, pollens nobilitate; et auxerat potentiam, postquam capto per dolum rege Carataco instruxisse triumphum Claudii Caesaris videbatur. inde opes et rerum secundarum luxus; spreto Venutio (is fuit maritus) armigerum eius Vellocatum in matrimonium regnumque accepit. concussa statim flagitio domus: pro marito studia civitatis, pro adultero libido reginae et saevitia. igitur Venutius accitis auxiliis, simul ipsorum Brigantum defectione in extremum discrimen Cartimanduam adduxit. tum petita a Romanis praesidia. et cohortes alaeque nostrae variis proeliis, exemere tamen periculo reginam; regnum Venutio, bellum nobis relictum.

Disturbances in Britain

XLVI. Turbata per eosdem dies Germania, et 46
socordia ducum, seditione legionum, externa vi, perfidia sociali prope adflicta Romana res. id bellum cum causis et eventibus (etenim longius provectum est) mox memorabimus. mota et Dacorum gens numquam fida, tunc sine metu, abducto e Moesia exercitu. sed prima rerum quieti speculabantur: ubi

and Germany.

flagrare Italiam bello, cuncta in vicem hostilia accepere, expugnatis cohortium alarumque hibernis utraque Danuvii ripa potiebantur. iamque castra legionum excindere parabant, ni Mucianus sextam legionem opposuisset, Cremonensis victoriae gnarus, ac ne externa moles utrimque ingrueret, si Dacus Germanusque diversi inrupissent. adfuit, ut saepe alias, fortuna populi Romani, quae Mucianum viresque Orientis illuc tulit, et quod Cremonae interim transegimus. Fonteius Agrippa ex Asia (pro consule eam provinciam annuo imperio tenuerat) Moesiae praepositus est, additis copiis e Vitelliano exercitu, quem spargi per provincias et externo bello inligari pars consilii pacisque erat.

Rising and defeat of the Dacians.

47 XLVII. Nec ceterae nationes silebant. subita per Pontum arma barbarum mancipium, regiae quondam classis praefectus, moverat. is fuit Anicetus Polemonis libertus, praepotens olim, et postquam regnum in formam provinciae verterat, mutationis inpatiens. igitur Vitellii nomine adscitis gentibus, quae Pontum adcolunt, corrupto in spem rapinarum egentissimo quoque, haud temnendae manus ductor, Trapezuntem vetusta fama civitatem, a Graecis in extremo Ponticae orae conditam, subitus inrupit. caesa ibi cohors, regium auxilium olim; mox donati civitate Romana signa armaque in nostrum modum, desidiam licentiamque Graecorum retinebant. classi quoque faces intulit, vacuo mari eludens, quia lectissimas Libernicarum omnemque militem Mucianus Byzantium adegerat: quin et barbari

Insurrection in Pontus.

contemptim vagabantur, fabricatis repente navibus. camaras vocant artis lateribus latam alvum sine vinculo aeris aut ferri conexam; et tumido mari, prout fluctus attollitur, summa navium tabulis augent, donec in modum tecti claudantur. sic inter undas volvuntur, pari utrimque prora et mutabili remigio, quando hinc vel illinc appellere indiscretum et innoxium est.

48 XLVIII. Advertit ea res Vespasiani animum, ut vexillarios e legionibus ducemque Virdium Geminum spectatae militiae deligeret. ille inconpositum et praedae cupidine vagum hostem adortus coëgit in naves; effectisque raptim Liburnicis adsequitur Anicetum in ostio fluminis Chobi, tutum sub Sedochezorum regis auxilio, quem pecunia donisque ad societatem perpulerat. ac primo rex minis armisque supplicem tueri: postquam merces proditionis aut bellum ostendebatur, fluxa, ut est barbaris, fide pactus Aniceti exitium perfugas tradidit, belloque servili finis inpositus.

Vespasian in Alexandria.

Laetum ea victoria Vespasianum, cunctis super vota fluentibus, Cremonensis proelii nuntius in Aegypto adsequitur. eo properantius Alexandriam pergit, ut fracto Vitellii exercitu urbem Italiamque externae opis indigam fame urgueret. namque et Africam, eodem latere sitam, terra marique invadere parabat, clausis annonae subsidiis inopiam ac discordiam hosti facturus.

49 XLIX. Dum hac totius orbis nutatione fortuna imperii transit, Primus Antonius nequaquam pari innocentia post Cremonam agebat, satis factum bello

ratus et cetera ex facili, seu felicitas in tali ingenio avaritiam superbiam ceteraque occulta mala patefecit. ut captam Italiam persultare, ut suas legiones colere; omnibus dictis factisque viam sibi ad potentiam struere. utque licentia militem inbueret, interfectorum centurionum ordines legionibus offerebat. eo suffragio turbidissimus quisque delecti; nec miles in arbitrio ducum, sed duces militari violentia trahebantur. quae seditiosa et corrumpendae disciplinae mox in praedam vertebat, nihil adventantem Mucianum veritus, quod exitiosius erat quam Vespasianum sprevisse.

Licence of the Flavian troops.

50 L. Ceterum propinqua hieme et umentibus Pado campis expeditum agmen incedere. signa aquilaeque victricium legionum, milites vulneribus aut aetate graves, plerique etiam integri Veronae relicti: sufficere cohortes alaeque et e legionibus lecti profligato iam bello videbantur. undecuma legio sese adiunxerat, initio cunctata, sed prosperis rebus anxia quod defuisset; sex milia Delmatarum, recens dilectus, comitabantur; ducebat Pompeius Silvanus consularis; vis consiliorum penes Annium Bassum legionis legatum. is Silvanum socordem bello et dies rerum verbis terentem specie obsequii regebat *et ad* omnia, quae agenda forent, quieta cum industria aderat. ad has copias e classicis Ravennatibus, legionariam militiam poscentibus, optimus quisque adsciti: classem Delmatae supplevere. exercitus ducesque ad Fanum Fortunae iter sistunt, de summa rerum cunctantes, quod motas ex urbe praetorias cohortes audierant et teneri praesidiis Appenninum rebantur; et ipsos in

regione bello attrita inopia et seditiosae militum voces terrebant, clavarium [donativi nomen est] flagitantium. nec pecuniam aut frumentum providerant, et festinatio atque aviditas praepediebant, dum quae accipi poterant rapiuntur.

51 LI. Celeberrimos auctores habeo, tantam victoribus adversus fas nefasque inreverentiam fuisse, ut gregarius eques occisum a se proxima acie fratrem professus praemium a ducibus petierit. nec illis aut honorare eam caedem ius hominum aut ulcisci ratio belli permittebat. distulerant tamquam maiora meritum, quam quae statim exsolverentur; nec quicquam ultra traditur. ceterum et prioribus civium bellis par scelus inciderat. nam proelio, quo apud Ianiculum adversus Cinnam pugnatum est, Pompeianus miles fratrem suum, dein cognito facinore se ipsum interfecit, ut Sisenna memorat: tanto acrior apud maiores, sicut virtutibus gloria, ita flagitiis paenitentia fuit. sed haec aliaque ex vetere memoria petita, quotiens res locusque exempla recti aut solacia mali poscet, haud absurde memorabimus.

A striking instance.

52 LII. Antonio ducibusque partium praemitti equites omnemque Umbriam explorari placuit, si qua Appennini iuga clementius adirentur: acciri aquilas signaque et quidquid Veronae militum foret, Padumque et mare commeatibus compleri. erant inter duces qui necterent moras: quippe nimius iam Antonius, et certiora ex Muciano sperabantur. namque Mucianus tam celeri victoria anxius, et ni praesens urbe poteretur, expertem se belli gloriaeque ratus, ad Primum et

Varum media scriptitabat, instandum coeptis aut rursus cunctandi utilitates edisserens atque ita compositus, ut ex eventu rerum adversa abnueret vel prospera adgnosceret. Plotium Griphum, nuper a Vespasiano in senatorium ordinem adscitum ac legioni praepositum, ceterosque sibi fidos apertius monuit, hique omnes de festinatione Primi ac Vari sinistre et Muciano volentia rescripsere. quibus epistulis Vespasiano missis effecerat, ut non pro spe Antonii consilia factaque eius aestimarentur.

Quarrel between Antonius and Mucianus.

53 LIII. Aegre id pati Antonius et culpam in Mucianum conferre, cuius criminationibus eviluissent pericnla sua; nec sermonibus temperabat, inmodicus lingua et obsequii insolens. litteras ad Vespasianum composuit iactantius quam ad principem, nec sine occulta in Mucianum insectatione: se Pannonicas legiones in arma egisse; suis stimulis excitos Moesiae duces, sua constantia perruptas Alpes, occupatam Italiam, intersaepta Germanorum Raetorumque anxilia. quod discordes dispersasque Vitellii legiones equestri procella, mox peditum vi per diem noctemque fudisset, id pulcherrimum et sui operis. casum Cremonae bello inputandum: maiore damno, plurium urbium excidiis veteres civium discordias rei publicae stetisse. non se nuntiis neque epistulis, sed manu et armis imperatori suo militare; neque officere gloriae eorum, qui Daciam interim composuerint: illis Moesiae pacem, sibi salutem securitatemque Italiae cordi fuisse; suis exhortationibus Gallias Hispaniasque, validissimam terrarum partem, ad Vespasianum conversas. sed

cecidisse in inritum labores, si praemia periculorum soli adsequantur qui periculis non adfuerint. nec fefellere ea Mucianum; inde graves simultates, quas Antonius simplicius, Mucianus callide eoque inplacabilius nutriebat.

LIV. At Vitellius fractis apud Cremonam rebus 54 nuntios cladis occultans stulta dissimulatione remedia potius malorum quam mala differebat. quippe confitenti consultantique supererant spes viresque: cum e contrario laeta omnia fingeret, falsis ingravescebat. mirum apud ipsum de bello silentium, prohibiti per civitatem sermones, eoque plures ac, si liceret, vere narraturi, quia vetabantur, atrociora vulgaverant. nec duces hostium augendae famae deerant, captos Vitellii exploratores circumductosque, ut robora victoris exercitus noscerent, remittendo; quos omnis Vitellius secreto percontatus interfici iussit. notabili constantia centurio Iulius Agrestis post multos sermones, quibus Vitellium ad virtutem frustra accendebat, perpulit, ut ad vires hostium spectandas quaeque apud Cremonam acta forent ipse mitteretur. nec exploratione occulta fallere Antonium temptavit, sed mandata imperatoris suumque animum professus, ut cuncta viseret postulat. missi qui locum proelii, Cremonae vestigia, captas legiones ostenderent. Agrestis ad Vitellium remeavit abnuentique vera esse, quae adferret, atque ultro corruptum arguenti 'quando quidem' inquit 'magno documento opus est, nec alius iam tibi aut vitae aut mortis meae usus, dabo cui credas.' atque ita digressus voluntaria

Vitellius suppresses bad news.

Story of Julius Agrestis.

morte dicta firmavit. quidam iussu Vitellii interfectum, de fide constantiaque eadem tradidere.

Vitellius sends troops to hold the Apennines.

55 LV. Vitellius ut e somno excitus Iulium Priscum et Alfenum Varum cum quattuordecim praetoriis cohortibus et omnibus equitum alis obsidere Appenninum iubet; secuta e classicis legio. tot milia armatorum, lecta equis virisque, si dux alius foret, inferendo quoque bello satis pollebant. ceterae cohortes ad tuendam urbem L. Vitellio fratri datae: ipse nihil e solito luxu remittens et diffidentia properus festinare comitia, quibus consules in multos annos destinabat; foedera sociis, Latium externis dilargiri; his tributa dimittere, alios immunitatibus iuvare; denique nulla in posterum cura lacerare imperium. sed vulgus ad magnitudinem beneficiorum aderat, stultissimus quisque pecuniis mercabatur, apud sapientes cassa habebantur, quae neque dari neque accipi salva re publica poterant. tandem flagitante exercitu, qui Mevaniam insederat, magno senatorum agmine, quorum multos ambitione, plures formidine trahebat, in castra venit, incertus animi et infidis consiliis obnoxius.

His indiscriminate bounty.

He joins the army

56 LVI. Contionanti — prodigiosum dictu — tantum foedarum volucrum supervolitavit, ut nube atra diem obtenderent. accessit dirum omen, profugus altaribus taurus disiecto sacrificii apparatu, longe, nec ut feriri hostias mos est, confossus. sed praecipuum ipse Vitellius ostentum erat, ignarus militiae, inprovidus consilii, quis ordo agminis, quae cura explorandi,

quantus urguendo trahendove bello modus, alios rogitans et ad omnis nuntios vultu quoque et incessu trepidus, dein temulentus. postremo taedio castrorum et audita defectione Misenensis classis Romam revertit, recentissimum quodque vulnus pavens, summi discriminis incuriosus. nam cum transgredi Appenninum integro exercitus sui robore et fessos hieme atque inopia hostes adgredi in aperto foret, dum dispergit vires, acerrimum militem et usque in extrema obstinatum trucidandum capiendumque tradidit, peritissimis centurionum dissentientibus et, si consulerentur, vera dicturis. arcuere eos intimi amicorum Vitellii, ita formatis principis auribus, ut aspere quae utilia, nec quicquam nisi iucundum et laesurum acciperet.

but presently returns to Rome.

LVII. Sed classem Misenensem (tantum civilibus discordiis etiam singulorum audacia valet) Claudius Faventinus centurio per ignominiam a Galba dismissus ad defectionem traxit, fictis Vespasiana epistulis pretium proditionis ostentans. praeerat classi Claudius Apollinaris, neque fidei constans neque strenuus in perfidia; et Apinius Tiro praetura functus ac tum forte Minturnis agens ducem se defectoribus obtulit. a quibus municipia coloniaeque inpulsae, praecipuo Puteolanorum in Vespasianum studio, contra Capua Vitellio fida, municipalem aemulationem bellis civilibus miscebant. Vitellius Claudium Iulianum (is nuper classem Misenensem molli imperio rexerat) permulcendis militum animis delegit; data in auxilium urbana cohors et gladiatores, quibus Iulianus praeerat. ut conlata utrimque castra, haud **57**

Defection of the Misenum fleet.

magna cunctatione Iuliano in partes Vespasiani transgresso, Tarracinam occupavere, moenibus situque magis quam ipsorum ingenio tutam.

58 LVIII. Quae ubi Vitellio cognita, parte copiarum Narniae cum praefectis praetorii relicta L. Vitellium fratrem cum sex cohortibus et quingentis equitibus ingruenti per Campaniam bello opposuit. ipse aeger animi studiis militum et clamoribus populi arma poscentis refovebatur, dum vulgus ignavum et nihil ultra verba ausurum falsa specie exercitum et legiones appellat. hortantibus libertis (nam amicorum eius quanto quis clarior, minus fidus) vocari tribus iubet, dantes nomina sacramento adigit. superfluente multitudine curam dilectus in consules partitur; servorum numerum et pondus argenti senatoribus indicit. equites Romani obtulere operam pecuniasque, etiam libertinis idem munus ultro flagitantibus. ea *Vitellius levies troops at Rome.* simulatio officii a metu profecta verterat in favorem; ac plerique haud perinde Vitellium quam casum locumque principatus miserabantur. nec deerat ipse vultu voce lacrimis misericordiam elicere, largus promissis, et quae natura trepidantium est, inmodicus. quin et Caesarem se dici voluit, aspernatus antea, sed tunc superstitione nominis, et quia in metu consilia prudentium et vulgi rumor iuxta audiuntur. ceterum ut omnia inconsulti impetus coepta initiis valida spatio languescunt, dilabi paulatim senatores equitesque, primo cunctanter et ubi ipse non aderat, mox contemptim et sine discrimine, donec Vitellius pudore inriti conatus quae non dabantur remisit.

LIX. Ut terrorem Italiae possessa Mevania ac velut renatum ex integro bellum intulerat, ita haud dubium erga Flavianas partes studium tam pavidus Vitellii discessus addidit. erectus Samnis Paelignusque et Marsi aemulatione, quod Campania praevenisset, ut in novo obsequio ad cuncta belli munia acres erant. sed foeda hieme per transitum Appennini conflictatus exercitus, et vix quieto agmine nives eluctantibus patuit, quantum discriminis adeundum foret, ni Vitellium retro fortuna vertisset, quae Flavianis ducibus non minus saepe quam ratio adfuit. obvium illic Petilium Cerialem habuere, agresti cultu et notitia locorum custodias Vitellii elapsum. propinqua adfinitas Ceriali cum Vespasiano, nec ipse inglorius militiae, eoque inter duces adsumptus est, Flavio quoque Sabino ac Domitiano patuisse effugium multi tradidere; et missi ab Antonio nuntii per varias fallendi artes penetrabant, locum ac praesidium monstrantes. Sabinus inhabilem labori et audaciae valetudinem causabatur: Domitiano aderat animus, sed custodes a Vitellio additi, quamquam se socios fugae promitterent, tamquam insidiantes timebautur. atque ipse Vitellius respectu suarum necessitudinum nihil in Domitianum atrox parabat. 59

The Flavians cross the Apennines.

LX. Duces partium ut Carsulas venere, paucos ad requiem dies sumunt, donec aquilae signaque legionum adsequerentur. et locus ipse castrorum placebat, late prospectans, tuto copiarum adgestu, florentissimis pone tergum municipiis; simul conloquia cum Vitellianis decem milium spatio distantibus et proditio sperabatur. 60

aegre id pati miles et victoriam malle quam pacem;

Antonius advises negotiations

ne suas quidem legiones opperiebantur, ut praedae quam periculorum socias. vocatos ad contionem Antonius docuit esse adhuc Vitellio vires, ambiguas, si deliberarent, acres, si desperassent. initia bellorum civilium fortunae permittenda: victoriam consiliis et ratione perfici. iam Misenensem classem et pulcherrimam Campaniae oram descivisse, nec plus e toto terrarum orbe reliquum Vitellio quam quod inter Tarracinam Narniamque iaceat. satis gloriae proelio Cremonensi partum et exitio Cremonae nimium invidiae: ne concupiscerent Romam capere potius quam servare. maiora illis praemia et multo maximum decus, si incolumitatem senatui populoque Romano sine sanguine quaesissent. his ac talibus mitigati animi.

61 LXI. Nec multa post legiones venere. et terrore famaque aucti exercitus Vitellianae cohortes nutabant, nullo in bellum adhortante, multis ad transitionem, qui suas centurias turmasque tradere, donum victori et sibi in posterum gratiam, certabant. per eos cognitum est Interamnam proximis campis praesidio quadringentorum equitum teneri. missus extemplo

Success of the Flavians at Interamna.

Varus cum expedita manu paucos repugnantium interfecit; plures abiectis armis veniam petivere. quidam in castra refugi cuncta formidine implebant, augendo rumoribus virtutem copiasque hostium, quo amissi praesidii dedecus lenirent. nec ulla apud Vitellianos flagitii poena, et praemiis defectorum versa fides ac reliquum perfidiae certamen. crebra transfugia tribunorum

centurionumque; nam gregarius miles induruerat pro Vitellio, donec Priscus et Alfenus desertis castris ad Vitellium regressi pudore proditionis cunctos exsolverent.

Death of Valens.

LXII. Isdem diebus Fabius Valens Urbini in 62 custodia interficitur. caput eius Vitellianis cohortibus ostentatum ne quam ultra spem foverent; nam pervasisse in Germanias Valentem et veteres illic novosque exercitus ciere credebant: visa caede in desperationem versi. et Flavianus exercitus immane quantum *aucto* animo exitium Valentis ut finem belli accepit. natus erat Valens Anagniae equestri familia, procax moribus neque absurdus ingenio, *ni* famam urbanitatis per lasciviam peteret. ludicro Iuvenalium sub Nerone velut ex necessitate, mox sponte mimos actitavit, scite magis quam probe. legatus legionis et fovit Verginium et infamavit; Fonteium Capitonem corruptum, seu quia corrumpere nequiverat, interfecit: Galbae proditor, Vitellio fidus et aliorum perfidia inlustratus.

His character.

Surrender of the Vitellian army.

LXIII. Abrupta undique spe Vitellianus miles 63 transiturus in partes, id quoque non sine decore, sed sub signis vexillisque in subiectos Narniae campos descendere. Flavianus exercitus, ut ad proelium intentus ornatusque, densis circa viam ordinibus adstiterat. accepti in medium Vitelliani, et circumdatos Primus Antonius clementer adloquitur: pars Narniae, pars Interamnae subsistere iussi. relictae simul e victricibus legiones, neque quiescentibus graves et adversus contumaciam validae. non omisere per

eos dies Primus ac Varus crebris nuntiis salutem et pecuniam et secreta Campaniae offerre Vitellio, si positis armis seque ac liberos suos Vespasiano permisisset. in eundem modum et Mucianus composuit epistulas; quibus plerumque fidere Vitellius ac de numero servorum, electione litorum loqui. tanta torpedo invaserat animum, ut, si principem eum fuisse ceteri non meminissent, ipse oblivisceretur.

Sabinus at Rome.

64 LXIV. At primores civitatis Flavium Sabinum praefectum urbis secretis sermonibus incitabant, victoriae famaeque partem capesseret: esse illi proprium militem cohortium urbanarum, nec defuturas vigilum cohortes, servitia ipsorum, fortunam partium et omnia prona victoribus: ne Antonio Varoque de gloria concederet. paucas Vitellio cohortes et maestis undique nuntiis trepidas; populi mobilem animum et, si ducem se praebuisset, easdem illas adulationes pro Vespasiano fore; ipsum Vitellium ne prosperis quidem parem, adeo ruentibus debilitatum. gratiam patrati belli penes eum, qui urbem occupasset: id Sabino convenire, ut imperium fratri reservaret, id Vespasiano, ut ceteri post Sabinum haberentur.

65 LXV. Haudquaquam erecto animo eas voces accipiebat, invalidus senecta; sed erant qui occultis suspicionibus incesserent, tamquam invidia et aemulatione fortunam fratris moraretur. namque Flavius Sabinus aetate prior privatis utriusque rebus auctoritate pecuniaque Vespasianum anteibat, et credebatur adfectam eius fidem parce iuvisse domo agrisque pignori acceptis; unde, quamquam manente in

speciem concordia, offensarum operta metuebantur. melior interpretatio, mitem virum abhorrere a sanguine et caedibus, eoque crebris cum Vitellio sermonibus de pace ponendisque per condicionem armis agitare. saepe domi congressi, postremo in aede Apollinis, ut fama fuit, pepigere. verba vocesque duos testes habebant, Cluvium Rufum et Silium Italicum: vultus procul visentibus notabantur, Vitellii proiectus et degener, Sabinus non insultans et miseranti propior.

His negotiations with Vitellius.

LXVI. Quod si tam facile suorum mentes flexisset 66 Vitellius, quam ipse cesserat, incruentam urbem Vespasiani exercitus intrasset. ceterum ut quisque Vitellio fidus, ita pacem et condiciones abnuebant, discrimen ac dedecus ostentantes et fidem in libidine victoris. nec tantam Vespasiano superbiam, ut privatum Vitellium pateretur, ne victos quidem laturos: ita periculum ex misericordia. ipsum sane senem et prosperis adversisque satiatum, sed quod nomen, quem statum filio eius Germanico fore? nunc pecuniam et familiam et beatos Campaniae sinus promitti: set ubi imperium Vespanianus invaserit, non ipsi, non amicis eius, non denique exercitibus securitatem nisi exstincto aemulatore redituram. Fabium illis Valentem, captivum et casibus dubiis reservatum, praegravem fuisse, nedum Primus ac Fuscus et specimen partium Mucianus ullam in Vitellium nisi occidendi licentiam habeant. non a Caesare Pompeium, non ab Augusto Antonium incolumes relictos, nisi forte Vespasianus altiores spiritus

Warlike counsels of Vitellius' advisers.

gerat, Vitelli cliens, cum Vitellius collega Claudio foret. quin, ut censuram patris, ut tres consulatus, ut tot egregiae domus honores deceret, desperatione saltem in audaciam accingeretur. perstare militem, superesse studia populi; denique nihil atrocius eventurum, quam in quod sponte ruant. moriendum victis, moriendum deditis: id solum referre, novissimum spiritum per ludibrium et contumelias effundant an per virtutem.

He prepares to abdicate.

67 LXVII. Surdae ad fortia consilia Vitellio aures: obruebatur animus miseratione curaque, ne pertinacibus armis minus placabilem victorem relinqueret coniugi ac liberis. erat illi et fessa aetate parens; quae tamen paucis ante diebus opportuna morte excidium domus praevenit, nihil principatu fili adsecuta nisi luctum et bonam famam. XV kalendas Ianuarius audita defectione legionis cohortiumque, quae se Narniae dediderant, pullo amictu Palatio degreditur, maesta circum familia; ferebatur lecticula parvulus filius velut in funebrem pompam: voces populi blandae et intempestivae, miles minaci silentio.

68 LXVIII. Nec quisquam adeo rerum humanarum inmemor, quem non commoveret illa facies, Romanum principem et generis humani paulo ante dominum relicta fortunae suae sede per populum, per urbem exire de imperio. nihil tale viderant, nihil audierant. repentina vis dictatorem Caesarem oppresserat, occultae Gaium insidiae, nox et ignotum rus fugam Neronis absconderant, Piso et Galba tamquam in acie cecidere: in sua contione Vitellius, inter suos

milites, prospectantibus etiam feminis, pauca et praesenti maestitiae congruentia locutus, cedere se pacis et rei publicae causa—retinerent tantum memoriam sui fratremque et coniugem et innoxiam liberorum aetatem miserarentur—, simul filium protendens, modo singulis modo universis commendans, postremo fletu praepediente adsistenti consuli (Caecilius Simplex erat) exsolutum a latere pugionem, velut ius necis vitaeque civium, reddebat. aspernante consule, reclamantibus qui in contione adstiterant, ut in aede Concordiae positurus insignia imperii domumque fratris petiturus discessit. maior hinc clamor obsistentium penatibus privatis, in Palatium vocantium. interclusum aliud iter, idque solum, quo in sacram viam pergeret, patebat: tum consilii inops in Palatium rediit.

LXIX. Praevenerat rumor eiurari ab eo imperium, scripseratque Flavius Sabinus cohortium tribunis, ut militem cohiberent. igitur tamquam omnis res publica in Vespasiani sinum cecidisset, primores senatus et plerique equestris ordinis omnisque miles urbanus et vigiles domum Flavii Sabini complevere. illuc de studiis vulgi et minis Germanicarum cohortium adfertur. longius iam progressus erat, quam ut regredi posset; et suo quisque metu, ne disiectos eoque minus validos Vitelliani consectarentur, cunctantem in arma inpellebant: sed quod in eius modi rebus accidit, consilium ab omnibus datum est, periculum pauci sumpsere. circa lacum Fundani descendentibus qui Sabinum comitabantur armatis occurrunt prompt- 69

Sabinus is compelled to take refuge in the Capitol.

issimi Vitellianorum. modicum ibi proelium improviso tumultu, sed prosperum Vitellianis fuit. Sabinus re trepida, quod tutissimum e praesentibus, arcem Capitolii insedit mixto milite et quibusdam senatorum equitumque, quorum nomina tradere haud promptum est, quoniam victore Vespasiano multi id meritum erga partes simulavere. subierunt obsidium etiam feminae, inter quas maxime insignis Verulana Gratilla, neque liberos neque propinquos sed bellum secuta. Vitellianus miles socordi custodia clausos circumdedit; eoque concubia nocte suos liberos Sabinus et Domitianum fratris filium in Capitolium accivit, misso per neglecta ad Flavianos duces nuntio, qui circumsideri ipsos et, ni subveniretur, artas res nuntiaret. noctem adeo quietam egit, ut digredi sine noxa potuerit: quippe miles Vitellii adversus pericula ferox, laboribus et vigiliis parum intentus erat, et hibernus imber repente fusus oculos auresque impediebat.

70 LXX. Luce prima Sabinus, antequam in vicem hostilia coeptarent, Cornelium Martialem e primipilaribus ad Vitellium misit cum mandatis et questu, quod pacta turbarentur: simulationem prorsus et imaginem deponendi imperii fuisse ad decipiendos tot inlustres viros. cur enim e rostris fratris domum, inminentem foro et inritandis hominum oculis, quam Aventinum et penates uxoris petisset? ita privato et omnem principatus speciem vitanti convenisse. contra Vitellium in Palatium, in ipsam imperii arcem regressum: inde armatum agmen emissum, stratam innocentium caedibus celeberrimam urbis partem, ne Capitolio quidem abstineri. togatum nempe se et unum e

He remonstrates with Vitellius.

senatoribus: dum inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium proeliis legionum, captivitatibus urbium, deditionibus cohortium iudicatur, iam Hispaniis Germaniisque et Britannia desciscentibus, fratrem Vespasiani mansisse in fide, donec ultro ad condiciones vocaretur. pacem et concordiam victis utilia, victoribus tantum pulchra esse. si conventionis paeniteat, non se, quem perfidia deceperit, ferro peteret, non filium Vespasiani vix puberem —quantum occisis uno sene et uno iuvene profici?—: iret obviam legionibus et de summa rerum illic certaret: cetera secundum eventum proelii cessura. trepidus ad haec Vitellius pauca purgandi sui causa respondit, culpam in militem conferens, cuius nimio ardori inparem esse modestiam suam; et monuit Martialem, ut per secretam aedium partem occulte abiret, ne *a* militibus internuntius invisae pacis interficeretur: ipse neque iubendi neque vetandi potens non iam imperator, sed tantum belli causa erat.

LXXI. Vixdum regresso in Capitolium Martiale furens miles aderat, nullo duce, sibi quisque auctor. cito agmine forum et inminentia foro templa praetervecti erigunt aciem per adversum collem usque ad primas Capitolinae arcis fores. erant antiquitus porticus in latere clivi dextrae subeuntibus, in quarum tectum egressi saxis tegulisque Vitellianos obruebant. neque illis manus nisi gladiis armatae, et arcessere tormenta aut missilia tela longum videbatur: faces in prominentem porticum iecere et sequebantur ignem ambustasque Capitolii fores penetrassent, ni Sabinus 71

The Capitol is attacked and burnt.

revulsas undique statuas, decora maiorum, in ipso aditu vice muri obiecisset. tum diversos Capitolii aditus invadunt iuxta lucum asyli et qua Tarpeia rupes centum gradibus aditur. inprovisa utraque vis; propior atque acrior per asylum ingruebat. nec sisti poterant scandentes per coniuncta aedificia, quae ut in multa pace in altum edita solum Capitolii aequabant. hic ambigitur, ignem tectis obpugnatores iniecerint, an obsessi, quae crebrior fama, dum nitentes ac progressos depellunt. inde lapsus ignis in porticus adpositas aedibus; mox sustinentes fastigium aquilae vetere ligno traxerunt flammam alueruntque. sic Capitolium clausis foribus indefensum et indireptum conflagravit.

72 LXXII. Id facinus post conditam urbem luctuosissimum foedissimumque rei publicae populi Romani accidit, nullo externo hoste, propitiis, si per mores nostros liceret, deis, sedem Iovis Optimi Maximi *History of the building.* auspicato a maioribus pignus imperii conditam, quam non Porsenna dedita urbe neque Galli capta temerare potuissent, furore principum excindi. arserat et ante Capitolium civili bello, sed fraude privata; nunc palam obsessum, palam incensum, quibus armorum causis, quo tantae cladis pretio? stetit, *dum* pro patria bellavimus. voverat Tarquinius Priscus rex bello Sabino ieceratque fundamenta spe magis futurae magnitudinis, quam quo modicae adhuc populi Romani res sufficerent. mox Servius Tullius sociorum studio, dein Tarquinius Superbus capta Suessa Pometia hostium spoliis extruxere. sed gloria operis libertati

reservata: pulsis regibus Horatius Pulvillus iterum consul dedicavit ea magnificentia, quam immensae postea populi Romani opes ornarent potius quam augerent. isdem rursus vestigiis situm est, postquam interiecto quadringentorum quindecim annorum spatio L. Scipione C. Norbano consulibus flagraverat. curam victor Sulla suscepit, neque tamen dedicavit: hoc solum felicitati eius negatum. Lutatii Catuli nomen inter tanta Caesarum opera usque ad Vitellium mansit. ea tunc aedes cremabatur.

Fate of Sabinus' adherents.

LXXIII. Sed plus pavoris obsessis quam obsessoribus intulit. quippe Vitellianus miles neque astu neque constantia inter dubia indigebat: ex diverso trepidi milites, dux segnis et velut captus animi non lingua, non auribus competere, neque alienis consiliis regi neque sua expedire, huc illuc clamoribus hostium circumagi, quae iusserat vetare, quae vetuerat iubere: mox, quod in perditis rebus accidit, omnes praecipere, nemo exsequi; postremo abiectis armis fugam et fallendi artes circumspectabant. inrumpunt Vitelliani et cuncta sanguine ferro flammisque miscent. pauci militarium virorum, inter quos maxime insignes Cornelius Martialis, Aemilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger, Didius Scaeva, pugnam ausi obtruncantur. Flavium Sabinum inermem neque fugam coeptantem circumsistunt, et Quintium Atticum consulem, umbra honoris et suamet vanitate monstratum, quod edicta in populum pro Vespasiano magnifica, probrosa adversus Vitellium iecerat. ceteri per varios casus elapsi, quidam servili habitu, alii fide clientium protecti et 73

inter sarcinas abditi. fuere qui excepto Vitellianorum signo, quo inter se noscebantur, ultro rogitantes respondentesve audaciam pro latebra haberent.

74 LXXIV. Domitianus prima inruptione apud aedituum occultatus, sollertia liberti lineo amictu turbae sacricolarum inmixtus ignoratusque, apud Cornelium Primum paternum clientem iuxta Velabrum delituit. ac potiente rerum patre, disiecto aeditui contubernio, modicum sacellum Iovi Conservatori aramque posuit casus suos in marmore expressam; mox imperium adeptus Iovi Custodi templum ingens seque in sinu dei sacravit. Sabinus et Atticus onerati catenis et ad Vitellium ducti nequaquam infesto sermone vultuque excipiuntur, frementibus qui ius caedis et praemia navatae operae petebant. clamore *a* proximis orto sordida pars plebis supplicium Sabini exposcit, minas adulationesque miscet. stantem pro gradibus Palatii Vitellium et preces parantem pervicere, ut absisteret: tum confossum conlaceratumque et absciso capite truncum corpus Sabini in Gemonias trahunt.

Escape of Domitian.

Death of Sabinus.

75 LXXV. Hic exitus viri haud sane spernendi. quinque et triginta stipendia in re publica fecerat, domi militiaeque clarus. innocentiam iustitiamque eius non argueres; sermonis nimius erat: id unum septem annis quibus Moesiam, duodecim quibus praefecturam urbis obtinuit, calumniatus est rumor. in fine vitae alii segnem, multi moderatum et civium sanguinis parcum credidere. quod inter omnis constiterit, ante principatum Vespasiani decus domus

His character.

penes Sabinum erat. caedem eius laetam fuisse Muciano accepimus. ferebant plerique etiam paci consultum dirempta aemulatione inter duos, quorum alter se fratrem imperatoris, alter consortem imperii cogitaret. sed Vitellius consulis supplicium poscenti populo restitit, placatus ac velut vicem reddens, quod interrogantibus, quis Capitolium incendisset, se reum Atticus obtulerat eaque confessione, sive aptum tempori mendacium fuit, invidiam crimenque adgnovisse et a partibus Vitellii amolitus videbatur.

LXXVI. Isdem diebus L. Vitellius positis apud 76
Feroniam castris excidio Tarracinae imminebat clausis illic gladiatoribus remigibusque, qui non egredi moenia neque periculum in aperto audebant. praeerat, ut supra memoravimus, Iulianus gladiatoribus, Apollinaris remigibus, lascivia socordiaque gladiatorum magis quam ducum similes. non vigilias agere, non intuta moenium firmare: noctu dieque fluxi et amoena litorum personantes, in ministerium luxus dispersis militibus, de bello tantum inter convivia loquebantur. paucos ante dies discesserat Apinius Tiro donisque ac pecuniis acerbe per municipia conquirendis plus invidiae quam virium partibus addebat.

L. Vitellius surprises Tarracina.

LXXVII. Interim ad L. Vitellium servus Verginii 77
Capitonis perfugit pollicitusque, si praesidium acciperet, vacuam arcem traditurum, multa nocte cohortes expeditas summis montium iugis super caput hostium sistit: inde miles ad caedem magis quam ad pugnam decurrit. sternunt inermos aut arma capientes et quosdam somno excitos, cum tenebris,

pavore sonitu tubarum, clamore hostili turbarentur. pauci gladiatorum resistentes neque inulti cecidere: ceteri ad naves ruebant, ubi cuncta pari formidine inplicabantur, permixtis paganis, quos nullo discrimine Vitelliani trucidabant. sex Liburnicae inter primum tumultum evasere, in quis praefectus classis Apollinaris; reliquae in litore captae, aut nimio ruentium onere pressas mare hausit. Iulianus ad L. Vitellium perductus et verberibus foedatus in ore eius iugulatur. fuere qui uxorem L. Vitellii Triariam incesserent, tamquam gladio militari cincta inter luctum cladesque expugnatae Tarracinae superbe saeveque egisset. ipse lauream gestae prospere rei ad fratrem misit, percontatus statim regredi se an perdomandae Campaniae insistere iuberet. quod salutare non modo partibus Vespasiani, sed rei publicae fuit. nam si recens victoria miles et super insitam pervicaciam secundis ferox Romam contendisset, haud parva mole certatum nec sine exitio urbis foret. quippe L. Vitellio quamvis infami inerat industria, nec virtutibus, ut boni, sed quo modo pessimus quisque, vitiis valebat.

Mutual recriminations in the Flavian army.

78 LXXVIII. Dum haec in partibus Vitellii geruntur, digressus Narnia Vespasiani exercitus festos Saturni dies Ocriculi per otium agitabat. causa tam pravae morae, ut Mucianum opperirentur. nec defuere qui Antonium suspicionibus arguerent tamquam dolo cunctantem post secretas Vitellii epistulas, quibus consulatum et nubilem filiam et dotales opes pretium proditionis offerebat. alii ficta haec et in gratiam

Muciani composita; quidam omnium id ducum consilium fuisse, ostentare potius urbi bellum quam inferre, quando validissimae cohortes a Vitellio descivissent, et abscisis omnibus praesidiis cessurus imperio videbatur: sed cuncta festinatione, deinde ignavia Sabini corrupta, qui sumptis temere armis munitissimam Capitolii arcem et ne magnis quidem exercitibus expugnabilem adversus tris cohortes tueri nequivisset. haud facile quis uni adsignaverit culpam, quae omnium fuit. nam et Mucianus ambiguis epistulis victores morabatur, et Antonius praepostero obsequio, vel dum regerit invidiam, crimen meruit; ceterique duces dum peractum bellum putant, finem eius insignivere. ne Petilius quidem Cerialis, cum mille equitibus praemissus, ut transversis itineribus per agrum Sabinum Salaria via urbem introiret, satis maturaverat, donec obsessi Capitolii fama cunctos simul exciret.

LXXIX. Antonius per Flaminiam ad Saxa rubra 79
multo iam noctis serum auxilium venit. illic interfectum Sabinum, conflagrasse Capitolium, tremere urbem, maesta omnia accepit; plebem quoque et servitia pro Vitellio armari nuntiabatur. et Petilio Ceriali equestre proelium adversum fuerat; namque incautum et tamquam ad victos ruentem Vitelliani, interiectus equiti pedes, excepere. pugnatum haud procul urbe inter aedificia hortosque et anfractus viarum, quae gnara Vitellianis, inconperta hostibus metum fecerant. neque omnis eques concors, adiunctis quibusdam, qui nuper apud Narniam dediti fortunam partium speculabantur.

The Flavians before Rome.

capitur praefectus alae Iulius Flavianus; ceteri foeda fuga consternantur, non ultra Fidenas secutis victoribus.

80 LXXX. Eo successu studia populi aucta; vulgus urbanum arma cepit. paucis scuta militaria, plures raptis quod cuique obvium telis signum pugnae exposcunt. agit grates Vitellius et ad tuendam urbem prorumpere iubet. mox vocato senatu deliguntur legati ad exercitus, ut praetexto rei publicae concordiam pacemque suaderent. varia legatorum sors fuit. qui Petilio Ceriali occurrerant, extremum discrimen adiere, aspernante milite condiciones pacis. vulneratur praetor Arulenus Rusticus: auxit invidiam super violatum legati praetorisque nomen propria dignatio viri. pulsantur comites, occiditur proximus lictor, dimovere turbam ausus: et ni dato a duce praesidio defensi forent, sacrum etiam inter exteras gentes legatorum ius ante ipsa patriae moenia civilis rabies usque in exitium temerasset. aequioribus animis accepti sunt qui ad Antonium venerant, non quia modestior miles, sed duci plus auctoritatis.

Negotiations for peace.

81 LXXXI. Miscuerat se legatis Musonius Rufus equestris ordinis, studium philosophiae et placita Stoicorum aemulatus; coeptabatque permixtus manipulis, bona pacis ac belli discrimina disserens, armatos monere. id plerisque ludibrio, pluribus taedio: nec deerant qui propellerent proculcarentque, ni admonitu modestissimi cuiusque et aliis minitantibus omisisset intempestivam sapientiam. obviae fuere et virgines Vestales cum epistulis Vitellii ad Antonium scriptis:

eximi supremo certamini unum diem postulabat: si moram interiecissent, facilius omnia conventura. virgines cum honore dimissae; Vitellio rescriptum Sabini caede et incendio Capitolii dirempta belli commercia.

LXXXII. Temptavit tamen Antonius vocatas ad **82** contionem legiones mitigare, ut castris iuxta pontem Mulvium positis postera die urbem ingrederentur. ratio cunctandi, ne asperatus proelio miles non populo, non senatui, ne templis quidem ac delubris deorum consuleret. sed omnem prolationem ut inimicam victoriae suspectabant; simul fulgentia per colles vexilla, quamquam inbellis populus sequeretur, speciem hostilis exercitus fecerant. tripertito agmine pars, ut adstiterat, Flaminia via, pars iuxta ripam Tiberis incessit; tertium agmen per Salariam Collinae portae propinquabat. plebs invectis equitibus fusa; miles Vitellianus trinis et ipse praesidiis occurrit. proelia ante urbem multa et varia, sed Flavianis consilio ducum praestantibus saepius prospera. ii tantum conflictati sunt, qui in partem sinistram urbis ad Sallustianos hortos per angusta et lubrica viarum flexerant. superstantes maceriis hortorum Vitelliani ad serum usque diem saxis pilisque subeuntes arcebant, donec ab equitibus, qui porta Collina inruperant, circumvenirentur. concurrere et in campo Martio infestae acies. pro Flavianis fortuna et parta totiens victoria: Vitelliani desperatione sola ruebant, et quamquam pulsi, rursus in urbe congregabantur.

Battles before and in the city.

LXXXIII. Aderat pugnantibus spectator populus **83**

utque in ludicro certamine, hos, rursus illos clamore et plausu fovebat. quotiens pars altera inclinasset, abditos in tabernis aut si quam in domum perfugerant, erui iugularique expostulantes parte maiore praedae potiebantur: nam milite ad sanguinem et caedes obverso spolia in vulgus cedebant. saeva ac deformis urbe tota facies: alibi proelia et vulnera, alibi balineae popinaeque; simul cruor et strues corporum; iuxta scorta et scortis similes; quantum in luxurioso otio libidinum, quidquid in acerbissima captivitate scelerum, prorsus ut eandem civitatem et furere crederes et lascivire. conflixerant *et* ante armati excitus in urbe, bis Lucio Sulla, semel *L.* Cinna victoribus, nec tunc minus crudelitatis: nunc inhumana securitas et ne minimo quidem temporis voluptates intermissae: velut festis diebus id quoque gaudium accederet, exsultabant, fruebantur, nulla partium cura, malis publicis laeti.

84 LXXXIV. Plurimum molis in obpugnatione castrorum fuit, quae acerrimus quisque novissimam spem retinebant. eo intentius victores, praecipuo veterum cohortium studio, cuncta validissimarum urbium excidiis reperta simul admovent, testudinem tormenta aggerem facesque, quidquid tot proeliis laboris ac periculi hausissent, opere illo consummari clamitantes.

The praetorian camp is stormed.

urbem senatui ac populo Romano, templa dis reddita: proprium esse militis decus in castris: illam patriam, illos penates. ni statim recipiantur, noctem in armis agendam. contra Vitelliani, quamquam numero fatoque dispares, inquietare victoriam, morari pacem, domos arasque cruore

foedare, suprema victis solacia amplectebantur. multi semianimes super turres et propugnacula moenium exspiravere: convulsis portis reliquus globus obtulit se victoribus, et cecidere omnes contrariis vulneribus, versi in hostem: ea cura etiam morientibus decori exitus fuit.

Vitellius capta urbe per aversam Palatii partem [Aventinum] in domum uxoris sellula defertur, ut si diem latebra vitavisset, Tarracinam ad cohortes fratremque perfugeret. dein mobilitate ingenii et, quae natura pavoris est, cum omnia metuenti praesentia maxime displicerent, in Palatium regreditur vastum desertumque, dilapsis etiam infimis servitiorum aut occursum eius declinantibus. terret solitudo et tacentes loci; temptat clausa, inhorrescit vacuis; fessusque misero errore et pudenda latebra semet occultans ab Iulio Placido tribuno cohortis protrahitur. vinctae pone tergum manus; laniata veste, foedum spectaculum, ducebatur, multis increpantibus, nullo inlacrimante: deformitas exitus misericordiam abstulerat. obvius e Germanicis militibus Vitellium infesto ictu per iram, vel quo maturius ludibrio eximeret, an tribunum adpetierit, in incerto fuit: aurem tribuni amputavit ac statim confossus est.

Death of Vitellius.

LXXXV. Vitellium infestis mucronibus coactum 85
modo erigere os et offere contumeliis, nunc cadentes statuas suas, plerumque rostra aut Galbae occisi locum contueri, postremo ad Gemonias, ubi corpus Flavii Sabini iacuerat, propulere. una vox non degeneris animi excepta, cum tribuno insultanti se tamen impe-

ratorem eius fuisse respondit; ac deinde ingestis vulneribus concidit. et vulgus eadem pravitate insectabatur interfectum, qua foverat viventem.

86 LXXXVI. Patria illi Luceria: septimum et quinquagensimum aetatis annum explebat, consulatum, sacerdotia, nomen locumque inter primores nulla sua industria, sed cuncta patris claritudine adeptus. principatum ei detulere qui ipsum non noverant: studia exercitus raro cuiquam bonis artibus quaesita perinde adfuere quam huic per ignaviam. inerat tamen simplicitas ac *His character.* liberalitas, quae, ni adsit modus, in exitium vertuntur. amicitias dum magnitudine munerum, non constantia morum contineri putat, meruit magis quam habuit. rei publicae haud dubie intererat Vitellium vinci, sed imputare perfidiam non possunt qui Vitellium Vespasiano prodidere, cum a Galba descivissent.

Praecipiti in occasum die ob pavorem magistratuum senatorumque, qui dilapsi ex urbe aut per domos clientium semet occultabant, vocari senatus non potuit. Domitianum, postquam nihil hostile metuebatur, ad duces partium progressum et Caesarem consalutatum miles frequens utque erat in armis in paternos penates deduxit.

HISTORIARUM

LIBER IV.

Cruelties of the victors.

I. Interfecto Vitellio bellum magis desierat quam **1** pax coeperat. armati per urbem victores implacabili odio victos consectabantur: plenae caedibus viae, cruenta fora templaque, passim trucidatis, ut quemque fors obtulerat. ac mox augescente licentia scrutari ac protrahere abditos; si quem procerum habitu et iuventa conspexerant, obtruncare nullo militum aut populi discrimine. quae saevitia recentibus odiis sanguine explebatur, dein verterat in avaritiam; nihil usquam secretum aut clausum sinebant, Vitellianos occultari simulantes. initium id perfringendarum domuum, vel si resisteretur, causa caedis; nec deerat egentissimus quisque e plebe et pessimi servitiorum prodere ultro dites dominos, alii ab amicis monstrabantur. ubique lamenta, conclamationes et fortuna captae urbis, adeo ut Othoniani Vitellianique militis invidiosa antea petulantia desideraretur. duces partium accendendo civili bello acres, temperandae victoriae inpares; quippe inter turbas et discordias pessimo cuique plurima vis, pax et quies bonis artibus indigent.

2 II. Nomen sedemque Caesaris Domitianus acceperat, nondum ad curas intentus, sed stupris et adulteriis filium principis agebat. praefectura praetorii penes Arrium Varum, summa potentiae in Primo Antonio. is pecuniam familiamque e principis domo quasi Cremonensem praedam rapere: ceteri modestia vel ignobilitate ut in bello obscuri, ita praemiorum expertes. civitas pavida et servitio parata occupari redeuntem Tarracina L. Vitellium cum cohortibus extinguique reliqua belli postulabat: praemissi Ariciam equites, agmen legionum intra Bovillas stetit. nec cunctatus est Vitellius seque et cohortes arbitrio victoris permittere, et miles infelicia arma haud minus ira quam metu abiecit. longus deditorum ordo saeptus armatis per urbem incessit, nemo supplici vultu, sed tristes et truces et adversum plausus ac lasciviam insultantis vulgi inmobiles. paucos erumpere ausos circumiecti oppressere; ceteri in custodiam conditi, nihil quisquam locutus indignum, et quamquam inter adversa, salva virtutis fama. dein L. Vitellius interficitur, par vitiis fratri, in principatu eius vigilantior, nec perinde prosperis socius quam adversis abstractus.

Surrender of L. Vitellius.

3 III. Isdem diebus Lucilius Bassus cum expedito equite ad componendam Campaniam mittitur, discordibus municipiorum animis magis inter semet quam contumacia adversus principem. viso milite quies et minoribus coloniis inpunitas: Capuae legio tertia hiemandi causa locatur et domus inlustres adflictae, cum contra Tarracinenses nulla ope iuvarentur. tanto proclivius est iniuriae quam beneficio vicem exsolvere,

quia gratia oneri, ultio in quaestu habetur. solacio fuit servus Verginii Capitonis, quem proditorem Tarracinensium diximus, patibulo adfixus in isdem anulis, quos acceptos a Vitellio gestabat. at Romae senatus cuncta principibus solita Vespasiano decernit, laetus et spei certus, quippe sumpta per Gallias Hispaniasque civilia arma, motis ad bellum Germaniis, mox Illyrico, postquam Aegyptum Iudaeam Suriamque et omnis provincias exercitusque lustraverant, velut expiato terrarum orbe cepisse finem videbantur: addidere alacritatem Vespasiani litterae tamquam manente bello scriptae. ea prima specie forma; ceterum ut princeps loquebantur, civilia de se, de re publica egregia. nec senatus obsequium deerat: ipsi consulatus cum Tito filio, praetura Domitiano et consulare imperium decernuntur.

The senate accepts Vespasian as emperor,

IV. Miserat et Mucianus epistulas ad senatum, 4
quae materiam sermonibus praebuere. si privatus esset, cur publice loqueretur? potuisse eadem paucos post dies loco sententiae dici. ipsa quoque insectatio in Vitellium sera et sine libertate: id vero erga rem publicam superbum, erga principem contumeliosum, quod in manu sua fuisse imperium donatumque Vespasiano iactabat. ceterum invidia in occulto, adulatio in aperto erant: multo cum honore verborum Muciano triumphalia de bello civium data, sed in Sarmatas expeditio fingebatur. adduntur Primo Antonio consularia, Cornelio Fusco et Arrio Varo praetoria insignia. mox deos respexere, restitui Capitolium

and decrees honours for his followers.

placuit. eaque omnia Valerius Asiaticus consul designatus censuit: ceteri vultu manuque, pauci, quibus conspicua dignitas aut ingenium adulatione exercitum, compositis orationibus adsentiebantur. ubi ad Helvidium Priscum praetorem designatum ventum, prompsit sententiam ut honorificam in novum principem, ** falsa aberant, et studiis senatus attollebatur. isque praecipuus illi dies magnae offensae initium et magnae gloriae fuit.

5 V. Res poscere videtur, quoniam iterum in mentionem incidimus viri saepius memorandi, ut vitam studiaque eius, et quali fortuna sit usus, paucis repetam.

Helvidius Priscus.

Helvidius Priscus origine Italica e Caracinae municipio Cluviis, patre, qui ordinem primi pili duxisset, ingenium inlustre altioribus studiis iuvenis admodum dedit, non, ut plerique, ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita rem publicam capesseret. doctores sapientiae secutus est, qui sola bona quae honesta, mala tantum quae turpia, potentiam nobilitatem ceteraque extra animum neque bonis neque malis adnumerant. quaestorius adhuc a Paeto Thrasea gener delectus e moribus soceri nihil aeque ac libertatem hausit, civis, senator, maritus, gener, amicus, cunctis vitae officiis aequabilis, opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversus metus.

6 VI. Erant quibus adpetentior famae videretur, quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur. ruina soceri in exilium pulsus, ut Galbae principatu rediit, Marcellum Eprium, delatorem Thraseae, accusare adgreditur. ea ultio, incertum

maior an iustior, senatum in studia diduxerat: nam si caderet Marcellus, agmen reorum sternebatur. primo minax certamen et egregiis utriusque orationibus testatum; mox dubia voluntate Galbae, multis senatorum deprecantibus, omisit Priscus, variis, ut sunt hominum ingenia, sermonibus moderationem laudantium aut constantiam requirentium.

His prosecution of Marcellus Eprius.

Ceterum eo senatus die, quo de imperio Vespasiani censebant, placuerat mitti ad principem legatos. hinc inter Helvidium et Eprium acre iurgium: Priscus eligi nominatim a magistratibus iuratis, Marcellus urnam postulabat, quae consulis designati sententia fuerat.

VII. Sed Marcelli studium proprius rubor excitabat, 7
ne aliis electis posthabitus crederetur. paulatimque per altercationem ad continuas et infestas orationes provecti sunt, quaerente Helvidio, quid ita Marcellus iudicium magistratuum pavesceret: esse illi pecuniam et eloquentiam, quis multos anteiret, ni memoria flagitiorum urgueretur. sorte et urna mores non discerni: suffragia et existimationem senatus reperta, ut in cuiusque vitam famamque penetrarent. pertinere ad utilitatem rei publicae, pertinere ad Vespasiani honorem, occurrere illi, quos innocentissimos senatus habeat, qui honestis sermonibus aures imperatoris inbuant. fuisse Vespasiano amicitiam cum Thrasea, Sorano, Sentio; quorum accusatores etiam si puniri non oporteat, ostentari non debere. hoc senatus iudicio velut admoneri principem, quos probet, quos re-

Debate on the selection of envoys to be sent to the emperor.

formidet. nullum maius boni imperii instrumentum quam bonos amicos esse. satis Marcello, quod Neronem in exitium tot innocentium inpulerit: frueretur praemiis et inpunitate, Vespasianum melioribus relinqueret.

8 VIII. Marcellus non suam sententiam inpugnari, sed consulem designatum censuisse dicebat, secundum vetera exempla, quae sortem legationibus posuissent, ne ambitioni aut inimicitiis locus foret. nihil evenisse, cur antiquitus instituta exolescerent aut principis honor in cuiusquam contumeliam verteretur; sufficere omnes obsequio. id magis vitandum, ne pervicacia quorundam inritaretur animus novo principatu suspensus et vultus quoque ac sermones omnium circumspectans. se meminisse temporum, quibus natus sit, quam civitatis formam patres avique instituerint; ulteriora mirari, praesentia sequi; bonos imperatores voto expetere, qualescumque tolerare. non magis sua oratione Thraseam quam iudicio senatus adflictum; saevitiam Neronis per eius modi imagines inlusisse, nec minus sibi anxiam talem amicitiam quam aliis exilium. denique constantia fortitudine Catonibus et Brutis aequaretur Helvidius: se unum esse ex illo senatu, qui simul servierit. suadere etiam Prisco, ne supra principem scanderet, ne Vespasianum senem triumphalem, iuvenum liberorum patrem, praeceptis coërceret. quo modo pessimis imperatoribus sine fine dominationem, ita quamvis egregiis modum libertatis placere. haec magnis utrimque contentionibus iactata diversis studiis accipiebantur. vicit pars, quae sortiri legatos malebat, etiam mediis patrum adnitentibus re-

tinere morem; et splendidissimus quisque eodem inclinabat metu invidiae, si ipsi eligerentur.

IX. Secutum aliud certamen. praetores aerarii **9**
(nam tum a praetoribus tractabatur aerarium) publicam paupertatem questi modum inpensis postulaverant. eam curam consul designatus ob magnitudinem oneris et remedii difficultatem principi reservabat: Helvidius arbitrio senatus agendum censuit. cum perrogarent sententias consules, Volcatius Tertullinus tribunus plebis intercessit, ne quid super tanta re principe absente statueretur. censuerat Helvidius, ut Capitolium publice restitueretur, adiuvaret Vespasianus. eam sententiam modestissimus quisque silentio, deinde oblivio transmisit: fuere qui et meminissent.

X. Tum invectus est Musonius Rufus in P. Celerem, **10**
a quo Baream Soranum falso testimonio circumventum arguebat. ea cognitione renovari odia accusationum videbantur. sed vilis et nocens reus protegi non poterat: quippe Sorani sancta memoria; Celer professus sapientiam, dein testis in Baream, proditor corruptorque amicitiae, cuius se magistrum ferebat. proximus dies causae destinatur; nec tam Musonius aut Publius quam Priscus et Marcellus ceterique, motis ad ultionem animis, expectabantur.

Prosecution of Celer.

XI. Tali rerum statu, cum discordia inter patres, **11**
ira apud victos, nulla in victoribus auctoritas, non leges, non princeps in civitate essent, Mucianus urbem ingressus cuncta simul in se traxit. fracta Primi Antonii Varique Arrii potentia, male dissimulata in eos Muciani iracundia, quamvis vultu tegeretur. sed civitas

Power of Mucianus.

rimandis offensis sagax verterat se transtuleratque: ille unus ambiri, coli. nec deerat ipse, stipatus armatis domos hortosque permutans, apparatu incessu excubiis vim principis amplecti, nomen remittere. plurimum terroris intulit caedes Calpurnii Galeriani. is fuit filius Gai Pisonis, nihil ausus: sed nomen insigne et decora ipsius iuventa rumore vulgi celebrabantur, erantque in civitate adhuc turbida et novis sermonibus laeta qui principatus inanem ei famam circumdarent. iussu Muciani custodia militari cinctus, ne in ipsa urbe conspectior mors foret, ad quadragensimum ab urbe lapidem Appia via fuso per venas sanguine extinguitur. Iulius Priscus praetoriarum sub Vitellio cohortium praefectus se ipse interfecit, pudore magis quam necessitate. Alfenus Varus ignaviae infamiaeque suae superfuit. Asiaticus (etenim is libertus) malam potentiam servili supplicio expiavit.

The Batavian revolt.

12 XII. Isdem diebus crebrescentem cladis Germanicae famam nequaquam maesta civitas excipiebat; caesos exercitus, capta legionum hiberna, descivisse Gallias non ut mala loquebantur. id bellum quibus causis ortum, quanto externarum sociarumque gentium motu flagraverit, altius expediam. Batavi, donec trans Rhenum agebant, pars Chattorum, seditione domestica pulsi extrema Gallicae orae vacua cultoribus simulque insulam iuxta sitam occupavere, quam mare Oceanus a fronte, Rhenus amnis tergum ac latera circumluit. nec opibus (rarum in societate validiorum) adtritis viros tantum armaque imperio ministrant, diu Germanicis

bellis exerciti, mox aucta per Britanniam gloria, transmissis illuc cohortibus, quas vetere instituto nobilissimi popularium regebant. erat et domi delectus eques, praecipuo nandi studio, arma equosque retinens integris turmis Rhenum perrumpere ...

XIII. Iulius Paulus et Iulius Civilis regia stirpe 13 multo ceteros anteibant. Paulum Fonteius Capito falso rebellionis crimine interfecit; iniectae Civili catenae, missusque ad Neronem et a *Civilis.* Galba absolutus sub Vitellio rursus discrimen adiit, flagitante supplicium eius exercitu : inde causae irarum spesque ex malis nostris. sed Civilis ultra quam barbaris solitum ingenio sollers et Sertorium se aut Annibalem ferens simili oris dehonestamento, ne ut hosti obviam iretur si a populo Romano palam descivisset, Vespasiani amicitiam studiumque partium praetendit, missis sane ad eum Primi Antonii litteris, quibus avertere accita *a* Vitellio auxilia et tumultus Germanici specie retentare legiones iubebatur. eadem Hordeonius Flaccus praesens monuerat, inclinato in Vespasianum animo et rei publicae cura, cui excidium adventabat, si redintegratum bellum et tot armatorum milia Italiam inrupissent.

XIV. Igitur Civilis desciscendi certus, occultato 14 interim altiore consilio, cetera ex eventu iudicaturus, novare res hoc modo coepit. iussu Vitellii Batavorum iuventus ad dilectum vocabatur, quem suapte natura gravem onerabant ministri avaritia ac luxu, senes aut invalidos conquirendo, quos pretio dimitterent : rursus inpubes et forma conspicui (et est plerisque procera pueritia) ad stuprum trahebantur. hinc invidia,

et compositae seditionis auctores perpulere, ut dilectum abnuerent.

He rouses his countrymen against Roman tyranny.

Civilis primores gentis et promptissimos vulgi specie epularum sacrum in nemus vocatos, ubi nocte ac laetitia incaluisse videt, a laude gloriaque gentis orsus iniurias et raptus et cetera servitii mala enumerat: neque enim societatem, ut olim, sed tamquam mancipia haberi: quando legatum, gravi quidem comitatu et superbo, cum imperio venire? tradi se praefectis centurionibusque: quos ubi spoliis et sanguine expleverint, mutari, exquirique novos sinus et varia praedandi vocabula. instare dilectum, quo liberi a parentibus, fratres a fratribus velut supremum dividantur. numquam magis adflictam rem Romanam nec aliud in hibernis quam praedam et senes: attollerent tantum oculos et inania legionum nomina ne pavescerent. at sibi robur peditum equitumque, consanguineos Germanos, Gallias idem cupientis. ne Romanis quidem ingratum id bellum, cuius ambiguam fortunam Vespasiano inputaturos: victoriae rationem non reddi.

15 XV. Magno cum adsensu auditus barbaro ritu et patriis exsecrationibus universos adigit. missi ad Canninefates qui consilia sociarent. ea gens partem insulae colit, origine lingua virtute par Batavis; numero superantur. mox occultis nuntiis pellexit Britannica auxilia, Batavorum cohortes missas in Germaniam, ut supra rettulimus, ac tum Mogontiaci agentes.

Brinno attacks a Roman force.

erat in Canninefatibus stolidae audaciae Brinno, claritate natalium insigni; pater eius multa hostilia ausus Gaianarum

expeditionum ludibrium inpune spreverat. igitur ipso rebellis familiae nomine placuit inpositusque scuto more gentis et sustinentium umeris vibratus dux deligitur. statimque accitis Frisiis (transrhenana gens est) duarum cohortium hiberna proxima occupatum Oceano inrumpit. nec providerant impetum hostium milites, nec, si providissent, satis virium ad arcendum erat: capta igitur ac direpta castra. dein vagos et pacis modo effusos lixas negotiatoresque Romanos invadunt. simul excidiis castellorum imminebant, quae a praefectis cohortium incensa sunt, quia defendi nequibant. signa vexillaque et quod militum in superiorem insulae partem congregantur, duce Aquilio primipilari, nomen magis exercitus quam robur: quippe viribus cohortium abductis Vitellius e proximis Nerviorum Germanorumque pagis segnem numerum armis oneraverat.

XVI. Civilis dolo grassandum ratus incusavit ultro **16** praefectos, quod castella deseruissent: sese cum cohorte, cui praeerat, Canninefatem tumultum compressurum, illi sua quisque hiberna repeterent. subesse fraudem consilio et dispersas cohortes facilius opprimi, nec Brinnonem ducem eius belli, sed Civilem esse patuit, erumpentibus paulatim indiciis, quae Germani, laeta bello gens, non diu occultaverant. ubi insidiae parum cessere, ad vim transgressus Canninefates, Frisios Batavos propriis cuneis componit: derecta ex diverso acies haud procul a flumine Rheno et obversis in hostem navibus, quas incensis castellis illuc adpulerant. nec diu certato Tungrorum cohors

Civilis defeats the Romans on the Rhine.

signa ad Civilem transtulit, perculsique milites inprovisa proditione a sociis hostibusque caedebantur. eadem etiam *in* navibus perfidia: pars remigum e Batavis tamquam inperitia officia nautarum propugnatorumque impediebant; mox contra tendere et puppes hostili ripae obicere: ad postremum gubernatores centurionesque, nisi eadem volentis, trucidant, donec universa quattuor et viginti navium classis transfugeret aut caperetur.

17 XVII. Clara ea victoria in praesens, in posterum usui; armaque et naves, quibus indigebant, adepti magna per Germanias Galliasque fama libertatis auctores celebrabantur. Germaniae statim misere legatos auxilia offerentes: Galliarum societatem Civilis arte donisque adfectabat, captos cohortium praefectos suas in civitates remittendo, cohortibus, abire an manere mallent, data potestate. manentibus honorata militia, digredientibus spolia Romanorum offerebantur: simul secretis sermonibus admonebat malorum, quae tot annis perpessi miseram servitutem falso pacem vocarent. Batavos, quamquam tributorum expertes, arma contra communes dominos cepisse; prima acie fusum victumque Romanum. quid si Galliae iugum exuant, quantum in Italia reliquum? provinciarum sanguine provincias vinci. ne Vindicis aciem cogitarent: Batavo equite protritos Aeduos Arvernosque; fuisse inter Verginii auxilia Belgas, vereque reputantibus Gallias suismet viribus concidisse. nunc easdem omnium partes, addito, si quid militaris disciplinae in castris Romanorum viguerit;

He negotiates for Gallic assistance.

esse secum veteranas cohortes, quibus nuper Othonis legiones procubuerint. servirent Suria Asiaque et suetus regibus Oriens: multos adhuc in Galliis vivere ante tributa genitos. nuper certe caeso Quintilio Varo pulsam e Germania servitutem, nec Vitellium principem, sed Caesarem Augustum bello provocatum. libertatem natura etiam mutis animalibus datam, virtutem proprium hominum bonum; deos fortioribus adesse: proinde arriperent vacui occupatos, integri fessos. dum alii Vespasianum, alii Vitellium foveant, patere locum adversus utrumque. XVIII. sic in 18
Gallias Germaniasque intentus, si destinata provenissent, validissimarum ditissimarumque nationum regno imminebat.

Hordeonius sends troops against Civilis.

At Flaccus Hordeonius primos Civilis conatus per dissimulationem aluit: ubi expugnata castra, deletas cohortes, pulsum Batavorum insula Romanum nomen trepidi nuntii adferebant, Munium Lupercum legatum (is duarum legionum hibernis praeerat) egredi adversus hostem iubet. Lupercus legionarios e praesentibus, Ubios e proximis, Treverorum equites haud longe agentis raptim transmisit, addita Batavorum ala, quae iam pridem corrupta fidem simulabat, ut proditis in ipsa acie Romanis maiore pretio fugeret. Civilis captarum cohortium signis circumdatus, ut suo militi recens gloria ante oculos et hostes memoria cladis terrerentur, matrem suam sororesque, simul omnium coniuges parvosque liberos consistere a tergo iubet, hortamenta victoriae vel pulsis pudorem. ut virorum cantu, feminarum ululatu sonuit acies, nequaquam par a

legionibus cohortibusque redditur clamor. nudaverat sinistrum cornu Batavorum ala transfugiens statimque in nos versa. sed legionarius miles, quamquam rebus trepidis, arma ordinesque retinebat. Ubiorum Treverorumque auxilia foeda fuga dispersa totis campis palantur: illuc incubuere Germani, et fuit interim effugium legionibus in castra, quibus Veterum nomen est. praefectus alae Batavorum Claudius Labeo, oppidano certamine aemulus Civili, ne interfectus invidiam apud populares vel, si retineretur, semina discordiae praeberet, in Frisios avehitur.

They are defeated and take refuge at Vetera Castra.

19 XIX. Isdem diebus Batavorum et Canninefatium cohortes, cum iussu Vitellii in urbem pergerent, missus a Civile nuntius adsequitur. intumuere statim superbia ferociaque et pretium itineris donativum, duplex stipendium, augeri equitum numerum, promissa sane a Vitellio, postulabant, non ut adsequerentur, sed causam seditioni. et Flaccus multa concedendo nihil aliud effecerat, quam ut acrius exposcerent quae sciebant negaturum. spreto Flacco inferiorem Germaniam petivere, ut Civili iungerentur. Hordeonius adhibitis tribunis centurionibusque consultavit, num obsequium abnuentes vi coërceret; mox insita ignavia et trepidis ministris, quos ambiguus auxiliorum animus et subito dilectu suppletae legiones angebant, statuit continere intra castra militem: dein paenitentia et arguentibus ipsis, qui suaserant, tamquam secuturus scripsit Herennio Gallo legionis primae legato, qui Bonnam obtinebat, ut arceret

The Batavian auxiliaries cast off the Roman allegiance,

transitu Batavos: se cum exercitu tergis eorum haesurum. et opprimi poterant, si hinc Hordeonius, inde Gallus, motis utrimque copiis, medios clausissent. Flaccus omisit inceptum aliisque litteris Gallum monuit, ne terreret abeuntes: unde suspicio sponte legatorum excitari bellum cunctaque, quae acciderant aut metuebantur, non inertia militis neque hostium vi, sed fraude ducum evenire.

XX. Batavi cum castris Bonnensibus propinquarent, **20**
praemisere qui Herennio Gallo mandata cohortium exponeret. nullum sibi bellum adversus Romanos, pro quibus totiens bellassent: longa atque irrita militia fessis patriae atque otii cupidinem esse. si nemo obsisteret, innoxium iter fore: sin arma occurrant, ferro viam inventuros. cunctantem legatum milites perpulerant, fortunam proelii experiretur. tria milia legionariorum et tumultuariae Belgarum cohortes, simul paganorum lixarumque ignava, sed procax ante periculum manus omnibus portis prorumpunt, ut Batavos numero inpares circumfundant. illi veteres militiae in cuneos congregantur, densi undique et frontem tergaque ac latus tuti; sic tenuem nostrorum aciem perfringunt. cedentibus Belgis pellitur legio, et vallum portasque trepidi petebant. ibi plurimum cladis: cumulatae corporibus fossae, nec caede tantum et vulneribus, sed ruina et suis plerique telis interiere. victores colonia Agrippinensium vitata, nihil cetero in itinere hostile ausi, Bonnense proelium excusabant, tamquam petita pace, postquam negabatur, sibimet ipsi consuluissent.

and force their way to Civilis.

21 XXI. Civilis adventu veteranarum cohortium iusti iam exercitus ductor, sed consilii ambiguus et vim Romanam reputans, cunctos qui aderant in verba Vespasiani adigit mittitque legatos ad duas legiones, quae priore acie pulsae in Vetera castra concesserant, ut idem sacramentum acciperent. redditur responsum: neque proditoris neque hostium se consiliis uti; esse sibi Vitellium principem, pro quo fidem et arma usque ad supremum spiritum retenturos: proinde perfuga Batavus arbitrium rerum Romanarum ne ageret, sed meritas sceleris poenas expectaret. quae ubi relata Civili, incensus ira universam Batavorum gentem in arma rapit; iunguntur Bructeri Tencterique et excita nuntiis Germania ad praedam famamque.

Civilis attacks Vetera.

22 XXII. Adversus has concurrentis belli minas legati legionum Munius Lupercus et Numisius Rufus vallum murosque firmabant. subversa longae pacis opera, haud procul castris in modum municipii exstructa, ne hostibus usui forent. sed parum provisum, ut copiae in castra conveherentur; rapi permisere: ita paucis diebus per licentiam absumpta sunt quae adversus necessitates in longum suffecissent. Civilis medium agmen cum robore Batavorum obtinens utramque Rheni ripam, quo truculentior visu foret, Germanorum catervis complet, adsultante per campos equite; simul naves in adversum amnem agebantur. hinc veteranarum cohortium signa, inde depromptae silvis lucisque ferarum imagines, ut cuique genti inire proelium mos est, mixta belli civilis externique facie obstupefecerant obsessos. et spem obpugnantium augebat amplitudo

valli, quod duabus legionibus situm vix quinque milia armatorum Romanorum tuebantur; sed lixarum multitudo turbata pace illuc congregata et bello ministra aderat.

XXIII. Pars castrorum in collem leniter exsurgens, 23 pars aequo adibatur. quippe illis hibernis obsideri premique Germanias Augustus crediderat, neque umquam id malorum, ut obpugnatum ultro legiones nostras venirent; inde non loco neque munimentis labor additus: vis et arma satis placebant. Batavi Transrhenanique, quo discreta virtus manifestius spectaretur, sibi quaeque gens consistunt, eminus lacessentes. post ubi pleraque telorum turribus pinnisque moenium irrita haerebant et desuper saxis vulnerabantur, clamore atque impetu invasere vallum, adpositis plerique scalis, alii per testudinem suorum; *The siege.* scandebantque iam quidam, cum gladiis et armorum incussu praecipitati sudibus et pilis obruuntur, praeferoces initio et rebus secundis nimii. sed tum praedae cupidine adversa quoque tolerabant; machinas etiam, insolitum sibi, ausi. nec ulla ipsis sollertia: perfugae captivique docebant struere materias in modum pontis, mox subiectis rotis propellere, ut alii superstantes tamquam ex aggere proeliarentur, pars intus occulti muros subruerent. sed excussa ballistis saxa stravere informe opus. et crates vineasque parantibus adactae tormentis ardentes hastae, ultroque ipsi obpugnatores ignibus petebantur, donec desperata vi verterent consilium ad moras, haud ignari paucorum dierum inesse alimenta et multum inbellis turbae; simul ex inopia proditio et fluxa servitiorum fides ac fortuita belli sperabantur.

Hordeonius advances against Civilis.

24 XXIV. Flaccus interim cognito castrorum obsidio et missis per Gallias qui auxilia concirent, lectos *e* legionibus Dillio Voculae duoetvicensimae legionis legato tradit, ut quam maximis per ripam itineribus celeraret, ipse navibus, invalidus corpore, invisus militibus. neque enim ambigue fremebant: emissas a Mogontiaco Batavorum cohortes, dissimulatos Civilis conatus, adsciri in societatem Germanos. non Primi Antonii neque Muciani ope Vespasianum magis adolevisse. aperta odia armaque palam depelli: fraudem et dolum obscura eoque inevitabilia. Civilem stare contra, struere aciem: Hordeonium e cubiculo et lectulo iubere quidquid hosti conducat. tot armatas fortissimorum virorum manus unius senis valetudine regi: quin potius interfecto proditore fortunam virtutemque suam malo omine exsolverent. his inter se vocibus instinctos flammavere insuper adlatae a Vespasiano litterae, quas Flaccus, quia occultari nequibant, pro contione recitavit, vinctosque qui attulerant ad Vitellium misit.

25 XXV. Sic mitigatis animis Bonnam, hiberna primae legionis, ventum. infensior illic miles culpam cladis in Hordeonium vertebat: eius iussu derectam adversus Batavos aciem, tamquam a Mogontiaco legiones sequerentur; eiusdem proditione caesos, nullis supervenientibus auxiliis: ignota haec ceteris exercitibus neque imperatori suo nuntiari, cum adcursu tot provinciarum extingui repens perfidia potuerit. Hordeonius exemplares omnium litterarum, quibus per Gallias Britanniamque et Hispanias auxilia orabat, exercitui

recitavit instituitque pessimum facinus, ut epistulae aquiliferis legionum traderentur, a quis ante militi quam ducibus legebantur. tum e seditiosis unum vinciri iubet, magis usurpandi iuris, quam quia unius culpa foret. motusque Bonna exercitus in coloniam Agrippinensem, adfluentibus auxiliis Gallorum, qui primo rem Romanam enixe iuvabant: mox valescentibus Germanis pleraeque civitates adversum nos arma *sumpsere* spe libertatis et, si exuissent servitium, cupidine imperitandi. gliscebat iracundia legionum, nec terrorem unius militis vincula indiderant: quin idem ille arguebat ultro conscientiam ducis, tamquam nuntius inter Civilem Flaccumque falso crimine testis veri opprimeretur. conscendit tribunal Vocula mira constantia, prensumque militem ac vociferantem duci ad supplicium iussit: et dum mali pavent, optimus quisque iussis paruere. exim consensu ducem Voculam poscentibus, Flaccus summam rerum ei permisit.

Mutinous spirit of his soldiers.

Vocula assumes the command.

XXVI. Sed discordes animos multa efferabant: **26**
inopia stipendii frumentique et simul dilectum tributaque Galliae aspernantes, Rhenus incognita illi caelo siccitate vix navium patiens, arti commeatus, dispositae per omnem ripam stationes, quae Germanos vado arcerent, eademque de causa minus frugum et plures qui consumerent. apud imperitos prodigii loco accipiebatur ipsa aquarum penuria, tamquam nos amnes quoque et vetera imperii munimenta desererent: quod in pace fors seu natura, tunc fatum et ira deum vocabatur.

A camp is formed at Gelduba.

Ingressis Novaesium sexta decuma legio coniungitur. additus Voculae in partem curarum Herennius Gallus legatus; nec ausi ad hostem pergere ... (loco Gelduba nomen est) castra fecere. ibi struenda acie, muniendo vallandoque et ceteris belli meditamentis militem firmabant. utque praeda ad virtutem accenderetur, in proximos Cugernorum pagos, qui societatem Civilis acceperant, ductus *a* Vocula exercitus; pars cum Herennio Gallo remansit.

A mutiny suppressed.

27 XXVII. Forte navem haud procul castris, frumento gravem, cum per vada haesisset, Germani in suam ripam trahebant. non tulit Gallus misitque subsidio cohortem: auctus et Germanorum numerus, paulatimque adgregantibus se auxiliis acie certatum. Germani multa cum strage nostrorum navem abripiunt. victi, quod tum in morem verterat, non suam ignaviam, sed perfidiam legati culpabant. protractum e tentorio, scissa veste, verberato corpore, quo pretio, quibus consciis prodidisset exercitum, dicere iubent. redit in Hordeonium invidia: illum auctorem sceleris, hunc ministrum vocant, donec exitium minitantibus exterritus proditionem et ipse Hordeonio obiecit; vinctusque adventu demum Voculae exsolvitur. is postera die auctores seditionis morte adfecit: tanta illi exercitui diversitas inerat licentiae patientiaeque. haud dubie gregarius miles Vitellio fidus, splendidissimus quisque in Vespasianum proni: inde scelerum ac suppliciorum vices et mixtus obsequio furor, ut contineri non possent qui puniri poterant.

Renewed attack on Vetera.

XXVIII. At Civilem inmensis auctibus universa 28 Germania extollebat, societate nobilissimis obsidum firmata. ille, ut cuique proximum, vastari Ubios Treverosque, et aliam manum Mosam amnem transire iubet, ut Menapios et Morinos et extrema Galliarum quateret, actae utrobique, praedae, infestius in Ubiis, quod gens Germanicae originis eiurata patria [Romanorum nomen] Agrippinenses vocarentur. caesae cohortes eorum in vico Marcoduro incuriosius agentes, quia procul ripa aberant. nec quievere Ubii, quo minus praedas e Germania peterent, primo inpune, dein circumventi sunt, per omne id bellum meliore usi fide quam fortuna. contusis Ubiis gravior et successu rerum ferocior Civilis obsidium legionum urguebat, intentis custodiis, ne quis occultus nuntius venientis auxilii penetraret. machinas molemque operum Batavis delegat: Transrhenanos proelium poscentis ad scindendum vallum ire detrusosque redintegrare certamen iubet, superante multitudine et facili damno.

XXIX. Nec finem labori nox attulit: congestis circum 29 lignis accensisque, simul epulantes, ut quisque vino incaluerat, ad pugnam temeritate inani ferebantur. quippe ipsorum tela per tenebras vana: Romani conspicuam barbarorum aciem, et si quis audacia aut insignibus effulgens, ad ictum destinabant. intellectum id Civili et restincto igne misceri cuncta tenebris et armis iubet. tum vero strepitus dissoni, concursus incerti, neque feriendi neque declinandi providentia: unde clamor acciderat, circumagere corpora, tendere artus; nihil prodesse virtus, fors cuncta turbare et

ignavorum saepe telis fortissima cadere. apud Germanos inconsulta ira: Romanus miles periculorum gnarus ferratas sudes, gravia saxa non forte iaciebat. ubi sonus molientium aut adpositae scalae hostem in manus dederant, propellere umbone, pilo sequi; multos in moenia egressos pugionibus fodere. sic exhausta nocte novam aciem dies aperuit.

The attack repulsed.

30 XXX. Eduxerant Batavi turrim duplici tabulato, quam praetoriae portae (is aequissimus locus) propinquantem promoti contra validi asseres et incussae trabes perfregere multa superstantium pernicie. pugnatumque in perculsos subita et prospera eruptione; simul a legionariis peritia et arte praestantibus plura struebantur. praecipuum pavorem intulit suspensum et nutans machinamentum, quo repente demisso praeter suorum ora singuli pluresve hostium sublime rapti verso pondere intra castra effundebantur. Civilis omissa expugnandi spe rursus per otium adsidebat, nuntiis et promissis fidem legionum convellens.

News of Cremona.

31 XXXI. Haec in Germania ante Cremonense proelium gesta, cuius eventum litterae Primi Antonii docuere, addito Caecinae edicto; et praefectus cohortis e victis, Alpinius Montanus, fortunam partium praesens fatebatur. diversi hinc motus animorum: auxilia e Gallia, quis nec amor neque odium in partes, militia sine adfectu, hortantibus praefectis statim a Vitellio desciscunt: vetus miles cunctabatur. sed adigente Hordeonio Flacco, instantibus tribunis, dixit sacramentum, non vultu neque animo satis adfirmans: et cum cetera iuris

iurandi verba conciperent, Vespasiani nomen haesitantes aut levi murmure et plerumque silentio transmittebant.

XXXII. Lectae deinde pro contione epistulae 32
Antonii ad Civilem suspiciones militum irritavere, tamquam ad socium partium scriptae et de Germanico exercitu hostiliter. mox adlatis Geldubam in castra nuntiis eadem dicta factaque, et missus cum mandatis Montanus ad Civilem, ut absisteret bello neve externa armis falsis velaret: si Vespasianum iuvare adgressus foret, satis factum coeptis. ad ea Civilis primo callide: post ubi videt Montanum praeferocem ingenio paratumque in res novas, orsus a questu periculisque, quae per quinque et viginti annos in castris Romanis exhausisset, 'egregium' inquit 'pretium laborum recepi, necem fratris et vincula mea et saevissimas huius exercitus voces, quibus ad supplicium petitus iure gentium poenas reposco. vos autem Treveri ceteraeque servientium animae, quod praemium effusi totiens sanguinis expectatis nisi ingratam militiam, inmortalia tributa, virgas, secures et dominorum ingenia? en ego praefectus unius cohortis et Canninefates Batavique, exigua Galliarum portio, vana illa castrorum spatia exscidimus vel saepta ferro fameque premimus. denique ausos aut libertas sequetur aut victi idem erimus.' sic accensum, sed molliora referre iussum dimittit: ille ut inritus legationis redit, cetera dissimulans, quae mox erupere.

Montanus' mission to Civilis.

XXXIII. Civilis parte copiarum retenta veteranas 33
cohortes et quod e Germanis maxime promptum adver

sus Voculam exercitumque eius mittit, Iulio Maximo et Claudio Victore, sororis suae filio, ducibus. rapiunt in transitu hiberna alae Asciburgii sita; adeoque inprovisi castra involavere, ut non adloqui, non pandere aciem Vocula potuerit: id solum ut in tumultu monuit, subsignano milite media firmare: auxilia passim circumfusa sunt. eques prorupit, exceptusque compositis hostium ordinibus terga in suos vertit. caedes inde, non proelium. et Nerviorum cohortes, metu seu perfidia, latera nostrorum nudavere: sic ad legiones perventum, quae amissis signis intra vallum sternebantur, cum repente novo auxilio fortuna pugnae mutatur. Vasconum lectae a Galba cohortes ac tum accitae, dum castris propinquant, audito proeliantium clamore intentos hostis a tergo invadunt latioremque quam pro numero terrorem faciunt, aliis a Novaesio, aliis a Mogontiaco universas copias advenisse credentibus. is error addit animos, et dum alienis viribus confidunt, suas recepere. fortissimus quisque e Batavis, quantum peditum erat, conciduntur: eques evasit cum signis captivisque, quos prima acie corripuerant. caesorum eo die in partibus nostris maior numerus, set inbellior, e Germanis ipsa robora.

Battle between Vocula and Civilis.

34 XXXIV. Dux uterque pari culpa meritus adversa prosperis defuere. nam Civilis si maioribus copiis instruxisset aciem, circumiri a tam paucis cohortibus nequisset castraque perrupta exscidisset: Vocula nec adventum hostium exploravit, eoque simul egressus victusque; dein victoriae parum confisus, tritis frustra diebus castra in hostem movit, quem si statim

impellere cursumque rerum sequi maturasset, solvere obsidium legionum eodem impetu potuit. temptaverat interim Civilis obsessorum animos, tamquam perditae apud Romanos res et suis victoria provenisset: circumferebantur signa vexillaque, ostentati etiam captivi. ex quibus unus, egregium facinus ausus, clara voce gesta patefecit, confossus illico a Germanis unde maior indici fides; simul vastatione incendiisque flagrantium villarum venire victorem excercitum intellegebatur. in conspectu castrorum constitui

The siege of Vetera raised.

signa fossamque et vallum circumdari Vocula iubet: depositis inpedimentis sarcinisque expediti certarent. hinc in ducem clamor pugnam poscentium; et minari adsueverant. ne tempore quidem ad ordinandam aciem capto incompositi fessique proelium sumpsere; nam Civilis aderat, non minus vitiis hostium quam virtute suorum fretus. varia apud Romanos fortuna et seditiosissimus quisque ignavus: quidam recentis victoriae memores retinere locum, ferire hostem, seque et proximos hortari et redintegrata acie manus ad obsessos tendere, ne tempori deessent. illi cuncta e muris cernentes omnibus portis prorumpunt. ac forte Civilis lapsu equi prostratus, credita per utrumque exercitum fama vulneratum aut interfectum, inmane quantum suis pavoris et hostibus alacritatis indidit: sed Vocula omissis fugientium tergis vallum turrisque castrorum augebat, tamquam rursus obsidium immineret, corrupta totiens victoria non falso suspectus bellum malle.

XXXV. Nihil aeque exercitus nostros quam egestas **35**

copiarum fatigabat. inpedimenta legionum cum inbelli turba Novaesium missa, ut inde terrestri itinere frumentum adveherent; nam flumine hostes potiebantur. primum agmen securum incessit, nondum satis firmo Civile. qui ubi rursum missos Novaesium frumentatores datasque in praesidium cohortes velut multa pace ingredi accepit, rarum apud signa militem, arma in vehiculis, cunctos licentia vagos, compositus invadit, praemissis qui pontes et viarum angusta insiderent. pugnatum longo agmine et incerto Marte, donec proelium nox dirimeret. cohortes Geldubam perrexere, manentibus, ut fuerant, castris, quae relictorum illic militum praesidio tenebantur. non erat dubium, quantum in regressu discriminis adeundum foret frumentatoribus onustis perculsisque. addit exercitui suo Vocula mille delectos e quinta et quinta decuma legionibus apud Vetera obsessis, indomitum militem et ducibus infensum. plures quam iussum erat profecti palam in agmine fremebant, non se ultra famem, insidias legatorum toleraturos: at qui remanserant, desertos se abducta parte legionum querebantur. duplex hinc seditio, aliis revocantibus Voculam, aliis redire in castra abnuentibus.

Movements of Vocula between Vetera and Novaesium.

36 XXXVI. Interim Civilis Vetera circumsedit: Vocula Geldubam atque inde Novaesium concessit. Civilis capit Geldubam; mox haud procul Novaesio equestri proelio prospere certavit. sed miles secundis adversisque perinde in exitium ducum accendebatur; et adventu quintanorum quintadecumanorumque auctae legiones

Renewed siege of Vetera.

donativum exposcunt, conperto pecuniam a Vitellio missam. nec diu cunctatus Hordeonius nomine Vespasiani dedit, idque praecipuum fuit seditionis alimentum. effusi in luxum et epulas et nocturnos coetus veterem in Hordeonium iram renovant, nec ullo legatorum tribunorumve obsistere auso (quippe omnem pudorem nox ademerat) protractum e cubili interficiunt. eadem in Voculam parabantur, nisi servili habitu per tenebras ignoratus evasisset.

Mutiny in the Roman army and murder of Hordeonius.

37 XXXVII. Ubi sedato impetu metus rediit, centuriones cum epistulis ad civitates Galliarum misere, auxilia ac stipendia oraturos: ipsi, ut est vulgus sine rectore praeceps pavidum socors, adventante Civile raptis temere armis ac statim omissis, in fugam vertuntur. res adversae discordiam peperere, iis qui e superiore exercitu erant causam suam dissociantibus; Vitellii tamen imagines in castris et per proximas Belgarum civitates repositae, cum iam Vitellius occidisset. dein mutati in paenitentiam primani quartanique et duoetvicensimani Voculam sequuntur, apud quem resumpto Vespasiani sacramento ad liberandum Mogontiaci obsidium ducebantur. discesserant obsessores, mixtus ex Chattis Usipis Mattiacis exercitus, satietate praedae nec incruentati, quia dispersos et nescios miles noster invaserat. quin et loricam vallumque per fines suos Treveri struxere, magnisque in vicem cladibus cum Germanis certabant, donec egregia erga populum Romanum merita mox rebelles foedarent.

End of the mutiny: expedition to Mogontiacum.

38 XXXVIII. Interea Vespasianus iterum ac Titus consulatum absentes inierant, maesta et multiplici metu suspensa civitate, quae super instantia mala falsos pavores induerat, descivisse Africam res novas moliente L. Pisone. is *pro consule* provinciae nequaquam turbidus ingenio, sed quia naves saevitia hiemis prohibebantur, vulgus alimenta in dies mercari solitum, cui una ex re publica annonae cura, clausum litus, retineri commeatus, dum timet, credebat, augentibus famam Vitellianis, qui studium partium nondum posuerant, ne victoribus quidem ingrato rumore, quorum cupiditates externis quoque bellis inexplebiles nulla umquam civilis victoria satiavit.

Rumoured disturbance in Africa.

39 XXXIX. Kalendis Ianuariis in senatu, quem Iulius Frontinus praetor urbanus vocaverat, legatis exercitibusque ac regibus laudes gratesque decretae; et Tettio Iuliano praetura, tamquam transgredientem in partes Vespasiani legionem deseruisset, ablata, ut in Plotium Griphum transferretur; Hormo dignitas equestris data. et mox eiurante Frontino Caesar Domitianus praeturam cepit. eius nomen epistulis edictisque praeponebatur, vis penes Mucianum erat, nisi quod pleraque Domitianus instigantibus amicis aut propria libidine audebat. sed praecipuus Muciano metus e Primo Antonio Varoque Arrio, quos recentes clarosque rerum fama ac militum studiis etiam populus fovebat, quia in neminem ultra aciem saevierant. et ferebatur Antonius Scribonianum Crassum, egregiis moribus et fraterna imagine fulgentem, ad capessendam rem

Growth of Mucianus' power at Rome.

publicam hortatus, haud defutura consciorum manu, ni Scribonianus abnuisset, ne paratis quidem corrumpi facilis, adeo metuens incerta. igitur Mucianus, quia propalam opprimi Antonius nequibat, multis in senatu laudibus cumulatum secretis promissis onerat, citeriorem Hispaniam ostentans discessu Cluvii Rufi vacuam; simul amicis eius tribunatus praefecturasque largitur. dein postquam inanem animum spe et cupidine inpleverat, vires abolet dimissa in hiberna legione septima, cuius flagrantissimus in Antonium amor. et tertia legio, familiaris Arrio Varo miles, in Suriam remissa; pars exercitus in Germanias ducebatur. sic egesto quidquid turbidum rediit urbi sua forma legesque et munia magistratuum.

XL. Quo die senatum ingressus est Domitianus, de **40**
absentia patris fratrisque ac iuventa sua pauca et modica disseruit, decorus habitu; et ignotis adhuc moribus crebra oris confusio pro modestia accipiebatur. referente Caesare de restituendis Galbae honoribus, censuit Curtius Montanus, ut Pisonis quoque memoria celebraretur. patres utrumque iussere: de Pisone irritum fuit. tum sorte ducti, per quos redderentur bello rapta, quique aera legum vetustate delapsa noscerent figerentque, et fastos adulatione temporum foedatos exonerarent modumque publicis inpensis facerent. redditur Tettio Iuliano praetura, postquam cognitus est ad Vespasianum confugisse: Gripho honor mansit. repeti inde cognitionem inter Musonium Rufum et Publium Celerem placuit, damnatusque Publius et Sorani manibus satis factum. insignis publica severi-

Proceedings in the Senate.

Condemnation of Celer.

tate dies ne privatim quidem laude caruit. iustum officium explesse Musonius videbatur, diversa fama *de* Demetrio Cynicam sectam professo, quod manifestum reum ambitiosius quam honestius defendisset: ipsi Publio neque animus in periculis neque oratio subpeditavit. signo ultionis in accusatores dato, petit a Caesare Iunius Mauricus, ut commentariorum principalium potestatem senatu faceret, per quos nosceret, quem quisque accusandum poposcisset. consulendum tali super re principem respondit.

Attacks on other delatores.

41 XLI. Senatus inchoantibus primoribus ius iurandum concepit, quo certatim omnes magistratus, ceteri, ut sententiam rogabantur, deos testes advocabant, nihil ope sua factum quo cuiusquam salus laederetur, neque se praemium aut honorem ex calamitate civium cepisse, trepidis et verba iuris iurandi per varias artes mutantibus, quis flagitii conscientia inerat. probabant religionem patres, periurium arguebant; eaque velut censura in Sariolenum Voculam et Nonium Attianum et Cestium Severum acerrime incubuit, crebris apud Neronem delationibus famosos. Sariolenum et recens crimen urguebat, quod apud Vitellium molitus eadem foret: nec destitit senatus manus intentare Voculae, donec curia excederet. ad Paccium Africanum transgressi eum quoque proturbant, tamquam Neroni Scribonios fratres concordia opibusque insignes ad exitium monstravisset. Africanus neque fateri audebat neque abnuere poterat: in Vibium Crispum, cuius interrogationibus fatigabatur, ultro conversus, miscendo quae defendere nequibat, societate culpae invidiam declinavit.

42 XLII. Magnam eo die pietatis eloquentiaeque famam Vipstanus Messalla adeptus est, nondum senatoria aetate, ausus pro fratre Aquilio Regulo deprecari. Regulum subversa Crassorum et Orfiti domus in summum odium extulerat: sponte Caesaris accusationem subisse iuvenis admodum, nec depellendi periculi sed in spem potentiae videbatur; et Sulpicia Praetextata Crassi uxor quattuorque liberi, si cognosceret senatus, ultores aderant. igitur Messalla non causam neque reum tueri, sed periculis fratris semet opponens flexerat quosdam. occurrit truci oratione Curtius Montanus, eo usque progressus, ut post caedem Galbae datam interfectori Pisonis pecuniam a Regulo adpetitumque morsu Pisonis caput obiectaret. 'hoc certe' inquit 'Nero non coëgit, nec dignitatem aut salutem illa saevitia redemisti. sane toleremus istorum defensiones, qui perdere alios quam periclitari ipsi maluerunt: te securum reliquerat exul pater et divisa inter creditores bona, nondum honorum capax aetas, nihil quod ex te concupisceret Nero, nihil quod timeret. libidine sanguinis et hiatu praemiorum ignotum adhuc ingenium et nullis defensionibus expertum caede nobili inbuisti, cum ex funere rei publicae raptis consularibus spoliis, septuagiens sestertio saginatus et sacerdotio fulgens innoxios pueros, inlustres senes, conspicuas feminas eadem ruina prosterneres, cum segnitiam Neronis incusares, quod per singulas domos seque et delatores fatigaret: posse universum senatum una voce subverti. retinete, patres conscripti, et reservate hominem tam expediti consilii, ut

Prosecution of Regulus.

omnis aetas instructa sit, et quo modo senes nostri Marcellum, Crispum, iuvenes Regulum imitentur. invenit aemulos etiam infelix nequitia: quid si floreat vigeatque? et quem adhuc quaestorium offendere non audemus, praetorium et consularem ausuri sumus? an Neronem extremum dominorum putatis? idem crediderant qui Tiberio, qui Gaio superstites fuerunt, cum interim intestabilior et saevior exortus est. non timemus Vespasianum; ea principis aetas, ea moderatio: sed diutius durant exempla quam mores. elanguimus, patres conscripti, nec iam ille senatus sumus, qui occiso Nerone delatores et ministros more maiorum puniendos flagitabat. optimus est post malum principem dies primus.'

Attack of Priscus on Marcellus.

43 XLIII. Tanto cum adsensu senatus auditus est Montanus, ut spem caperet Helvidius posse etiam Marcellum prosterni. igitur a laude Cluvii Rufi orsus, qui perinde dives et eloquentia clarus nulli umquam sub Nerone periculum facessisset, crimine simul exemploque Eprium urguebat, ardentibus patrum animis. quod ubi sensit Marcellus, velut excedens curia 'imus' inquit, 'Prisce, et relinquimus tibi senatum tuum: regna praesente Caesare.' sequebatur Vibius Crispus, ambo infensi, vultu diverso, Marcellus minacibus oculis, Crispus renidens, donec adcursu amicorum retraherentur. cum glisceret certamen, hinc multi bonique, inde pauci et validi pertinacibus odiis tenderent, consumptus per discordiam dies.

44 XLIV. Proximo senatu, inchoante Caesare de abolendo dolore iraque et priorum temporum necessitati-

bus, censuit Mucianus prolixe pro accusatoribus; simul eos, qui coeptam, deinde omissam actionem repeterent, monuit sermone molli et tamquam rogaret. patres coeptatam libertatem, postquam obviam itum, omisere. Mucianus, ne sperni senatus iudicium et cunctis sub Nerone admissis data impunitas videretur, Octavium Sagittam et Antistium Sosianum senatorii ordinis egressos exilium in easdem insulas redegit. Octavius Pontiam Postumiam, stupro cognitam et nuptias suas abnuentem, inpotens amoris interfecerat, Sosianus pravitate morum multis exitiosus. ambo gravi senatus consulto damnati pulsique, quamvis concesso aliis reditu, in eadem poena retenti sunt. nec ideo lenita erga Mucianum invidia: quippe Sosianus ac Sagitta viles, etiam si reverterentur: accusatorum ingenia et opes et exercita malis artibus potentia timebantur.

Banishment of Sosianus and Sagitta.

XLV. Reconciliavit paulisper studia patrum habita in senatu cognitio secundum veterem morem. Manlius Patruitus senator pulsatum se in colonia Seniensi coetu multitudinis et iussu magistratuum querebatur; nec finem iniuriae hic stetisse: planctum et lamenta et supremorum imaginem praesenti sibi circumdata cum contumeliis ac probris, quae in senatum universum iacerentur. vocati qui arguebantur, et cognita causa in convictos vindicatum, additumque senatus consultum, quo Seniensium plebes modestiae admoneretur. isdem diebus Antonius Flamma *accusantibus* Cyrenensibus damnatur lege repetundarum et exilio ob saevitiam. 45

Punishment of insult to a Senator.

XLVI. Inter quae militaris seditio prope exarsit. 46

praetorianam militiam repetebant a Vitellio dimissi, pro Vespasiano congregati; et lectus in eandem spem e legionibus miles promissa stipendia flagitabat. ne Vitelliani quidem sine multa caede depelli poterant: sed inmensa pecunia tanta vis hominum retinenda erat. ingressus castra Mucianus, quo rectius stipendia singulorum spectaret, suis cum insignibus armisque victores constituit, modicis inter se spatiis discretos. tum Vitelliani, quos apud Bovillas in deditionem acceptos memoravimus, ceterique per urbem et urbi vicina conquisiti producuntur prope intecto corpore. eos Mucianus diduci et Germanicum Britannicumque militem, ac si qui aliorum exercituum, separatim adsistere iubet. illos primus statim adspectus obstupefecerat, cum ex diverso velut aciem telis et armis trucem, semet clausos nudosque et inluvie deformes aspicerent: ut vero huc illuc distrahi coepere, metus per omnes et praecipua Germanici militis formido, tamquam ea separatione ad caedem destinaretur. prensare commanipularium pectora, cervicibus innecti, suprema oscula petere, ne desererentur soli neu pari causa disparem fortunam paterentur; modo Mucianum, modo absentem principem, postremum caelum ac deos obtestari, donec Mucianus cunctos eiusdem sacramenti, eiusdem imperatoris milites appellans, falso timori obviam iret; namque et victor exercitus clamore lacrimas eorum iuvabat. isque finis illa die. paucis post diebus adloquentem Domitianum firmati iam excepere: spernunt oblatos agros, militiam et stipendia orant. preces erant, sed quibus

Disturbance in the camp suppressed.

contra dici non posset; igitur in praetorium accepti. dein quibus aetas et iusta stipendia, dimissi cum honore, alii ob culpam, sed carptim ac singuli, quo tutissimo remedio consensus multitudinis extenuatur.

XLVII. Ceterum verane pauperie an uti videretur, 47
actum in senatu, ut sescentiens sestertium a privatis mutuum acciperetur praepositusque ei curae Pompeius Silvanus. nec multo post necessitas abiit sive omissa simulatio. abrogati inde legem ferente Domitiano consulatus, quos Vitellius dederat, funusque censorium Flavio Sabino ductum, magna documenta instabilis fortunae summaque et ima miscentis.

XLVIII. Sub idem tempus L. Piso pro consule 48
interficitur. ea de caede quam verissime expediam, si pauca supra repetiero ab initio causisque talium facinorum non absurda.

Piso in Africa.

legio in Africa auxiliaque tutandis imperii finibus sub divo Augusto Tiberioque principibus proconsuli parebant. mox Gaius Caesar, turbidus animi ac Marcum Silanum obtinentem Africam metuens, ablatam proconsuli legionem misso in eam rem legato tradidit. aequatus inter duos beneficiorum numerus, et mixtis utriusque mandatis discordia quaesita auctaque pravo certamine.

Government of the province.

legatorum vis adolevit diuturnitate officii, vel quia minoribus maior aemulandi cura, proconsulum splendidissimus quisque securitati magis quam potentiae consulebant.

XLIX. Sed tum legionem in Africa regebat Vale- 49
rius Festus, sumptuosae adulescentiae neque modica cupiens et adfinitate Vitellii anxius. is crebris sermonibus temptaveritne Pisonem ad res novas an temp-

tanti restiterit, incertum, quoniam secreto eorum nemo adfuit, et occiso Pisone plerique ad gratiam interfectoris inclinavere. nec ambigitur provinciam et militem alienato erga Vespasianum animo fuisse; et quidam e Vitellianis urbe profugi ostentabant Pisoni nutantes Gallias, paratam Germaniam, pericula ipsius et in pace suspecto tutius bellum. inter quae Claudius Sagitta, praefectus alae Petrianae, prospera navigatione praevenit Papirium centurionem a Muciano missum, adseveravitque mandata interficiendi Pisonis centurioni data: cecidisse Galerianum consobrinum eius generumque; unam in audacia spem salutis, sed duo itinera audendi, seu mallet statim arma, seu petita navibus Gallia ducem se Vitellianis exercitibus ostenderet, nihil ad ea moto Pisone. centurio a Muciano missus ut portum Karthaginis attigit, magna voce laeta Pisoni omina tamquam principi continuare, obvios et subitae rei miraculo attonitos, ut eadem adstreperent, hortari. vulgus credulum ruere in forum, praesentiam Pisonis exposcere; gaudio clamoribusque cuncta miscebant, indiligentia veri et adulandi libidine. Piso indicio Sagittae vel insita modestia non in publicum egressus est neque se studiis vulgi permisit: centurionemque percontatus, postquam quaesitum sibi crimen caedemque comperit, animadverti in eum iussit, haud perinde spe vitae quam ira in percussorem, quod idem ex interfectoribus Clodii Macri cruentas legati sanguine manus ad caedem proconsulis rettulisset. anxio deinde edicto Karthaginiensibus increpitis, ne solita quidem munia usurpabat,

Treacherous offer to Piso of imperial power.

clausus intra domum, ne qua motus novi causa vel forte oreretur.

L. Sed ubi Festo consternatio vulgi, centurionis 50 supplicium veraque et falsa more famae in maius innotuere, equites in necem Pisonis mittit. illi raptim vecti obscuro adhuc coeptae lucis domum proconsulis inrumpunt destrictis gladiis, et magna pars Pisonis ignari, quod Poenos auxiliares Maurosque in eam caedem delegerat. haud procul cubiculo obvium forte servum, quisnam et ubi esset Piso, interrogavere. servus egregio mendacio se Pisonem esse respondit ac statim obtruncatur. nec multo post Piso interficitur; namque aderat qui nosceret, Baebius Massa e procuratoribus Africae, iam tunc optimo cuique exitiosus et inter causas malorum, quae mox tulimus, saepius rediturus. Festus Adrumeto, ubi speculabundus substiterat, ad legionem contendit praefectumque castrorum Caetronium Pisanum vinciri iussit proprias ob simultates, sed Pisonis satellitem vocabat militesque et centuriones quosdam puniit, alios praemiis adfecit, neutrum ex merito, sed ut obpressisse bellum crederetur. mox Oeensium Leptitanorumque discordias componit, quae raptu frugum et pecorum inter agrestes modicis principiis, iam per arma atque acies exercebantur; nam populus Oeensis multitudine inferior Garamantas exciverat, gentem indomitam et inter accolas latrociniis fecundam. unde artae Leptitanis res, lateque vastatis agris intra moenia trepidabant, donec interventu cohortium alarumque fusi Garamantes et recepta omnis praeda, nisi

He is put to death by Festus.

quam vagi per inaccessa mapalium ulterioribus vendiderant.

51 LI. At Vespasiano post Cremonensem pugnam et prosperos undique nuntios cecidisse Vitellium multi cuiusque ordinis, pari audacia fortunaque hibernum mare adgressi, nuntiavere. aderant legati regis Vologesi quadraginta *milia* Parthorum equitum offerentes. magnificum laetumque tantis sociorum auxiliis ambiri neque indigere: gratiae Volegeso actae mandatumque, ut legatos ad senatum mitteret et pacem esse sciret. Vespasianus in Italiam resque urbis intentus adversam de Domitiano famam accipit, tamquam terminos aetatis et concessa filio egrederetur: igitur validissimam exercitus partem Tito tradit ad reliqua Iudaici belli perpetranda.

Vespasian in the East.

52 LII. Titum, antequam digrederetur, multo apud patrem sermone orasse ferunt, ne criminantium nuntiis temere accenderetur integrumque se ac placabilem filio praestaret. non legiones, non classes perinde firma imperii munimenta quam numerum liberorum; nam amicos tempore, fortuna, cupidinibus aliquando aut erroribus imminui, transferri, desinere: suum cuique sanguinem indiscretum, sed maxime principibus. quorum prosperis et alii fruantur, adversa ad iunctissimos pertineant. ne fratribus quidem mansuram concordiam, ni parens exemplum praebuisset. Vespasianus haud aeque Domitiano mitigatus quam Titi pietate gaudens, bono esse animo iubet belloque et armis rem publicam attollere: sibi pacem domumque curae fore. tum celerrimas navium frumento onustas saevo adhuc

Titus left in Judea.

mari committit: quippe tanto discrimine urbs nutabat, ut decem haud amplius dierum frumentum in horreis fuerit, cum a Vespasiano commeatus subvenere.

LIII. Curam restituendi Capitolii in L. Vestinum 53 confert, equestris ordinis virum, sed auctoritate famaque inter proceres. ab eo contracti haruspices monuere, ut reliquiae prioris delubri in paludes aveherentur, templum isdem vestigiis sisteretur: nolle deos mutari veterem formam. XI kalendas Iulias serena luce spatium omne, quod templo dicabatur, evinctum vittis coronisque ingressi milites, quis fausta nomina, felicibus ramis; dein virgines Vestales cum pueris puellisque patrimis matrimisque aqua e fontibus amnibusque hausta perluere. tum Helvidius Priscus praetor, praeeunte Plautio Aeliano pontifice, lustrata suovetaurilibus area et super caespitem redditis extis, Iovem, Iunonem, Minervam praesidesque imperii deos precatus, uti coepta prosperarent sedesque suas pietate hominum inchoatas divina ope attollerent, vittas, quis ligatus lapis innexique funes erant, contigit; simul ceteri magistratus et sacerdotes et senatus et eques et magna pars populi, studio laetitiaque conixi, saxum ingens traxere. passimque iniectae fundamentis argenti aurique stipes et metallorum primitiae, nullis fornacibus victae, sed ut gignuntur: praedixere haruspices, ne temeraretur opus saxo aurove in aliud destinato. altitudo aedibus adiecta: id solum religio adnuere et prioris templi magnificentiae defuisse credebatur.

Restoration of the Capitoline temple.

LIV. Audita interim per Gallias Germaniasque mors 54

Vitellii duplicaverat bellum. nam Civilis omissa dissimulatione in populum Romanum ruere, Vitellianae legiones vel externum servitium quam imperatorem Vespasianum malle. Galli sustulerant animos, eandem ubique exercituum nostrorum fortunam rati, vulgato rumore a Sarmatis Dacisque Moesica ac Pannonica hiberna circumsederi; paria de Britannia fingebantur.

Projects of revolt in Gaul.

sed nihil aeque quam incendium Capitolii, ut finem imperio adesse crederent, inpulerat. captam olim a Gallis urbem, sed integra Iovis sede mansisse imperium: fatali nunc igne signum caelestis irae datum et possessionem rerum humanarum Transalpinis gentibus portendi superstitione vana Druidae canebant. incesseratque fama primores Galliarum ab Othone adversus Vitellium missos, antequam digrederentur, pepigisse, ne deessent libertati, si populum Romanum continua civilium bellorum series et interna mala fregissent.

55 LV. Ante Flacci Hordeonii caedem nihil prorupit, quo coniuratio intellegeretur: interfecto Hordeonio commeavere nuntii inter Civilem Classicumque praefectum alae Treverorum. Classicus nobilitate opibusque ante alios: regium illi genus et pace belloque clara origo, ipse e maioribus suis hostis populi Romani quam socios iactabat. miscuere sese Iulius Tutor et Iulius Sabinus, hic Trevir, hic Lingonus, Tutor ripae Rheni a Vitellio praefectus; Sabinum

Negotiations of the Gallic leaders.

super insitam vanitatem falsae stirpis gloria incendebat: proaviam suam divo Iulio per Gallias bellanti corpore atque adulterio placuisse. hi secretis sermonibus animos ceterorum scrutati,

ubi quos idoneos rebantur conscientia obstrinxere, in colonia Agrippinensi in domum privatam conveniunt; nam publice civitas talibus inceptis abhorrebat; ac tamen interfuere quidam Ubiorum Tungrorumque. sed plurima vis penes Treveros ac Lingonas, nec tulere moras consultandi. certatim proclamant furere discordiis populum Romanum, caesas legiones, vastatam Italiam, capi cum maxime urbem, omnis exercitus suis quemque bellis distineri: si Alpes praesidiis firmentur, coalita libertate disceptaturas Gallias, quem virium suarum terminum velint.

LVI. Haec dicta pariter probataque: de reliquiis 56 Vitelliani exercitus dubitavere. plerique interficiendos censebant, turbidos, infidos, sanguine ducum pollutos: vicit ratio parcendi, ne sublata spe veniae pertinaciam accenderent: adliciendos potius in societatem. legatis tantum legionum interfectis, ceterum vulgus conscientia scelerum et spe impunitatis facile accessurum. ea primi concilii forma missique per Gallias concitores belli; simulatum ipsis obsequium, quo incautiorem Voculam opprimerent. nec defuere qui Voculae nuntiarent, sed vires ad coërcendum deerant, infrequentibus infidisque legionibus. inter ambiguos milites et occultos hostes optimum e praesentibus ratus mutua dissimulatione et isdem quibus petebatur grassari, in coloniam Agrippinensem descendit. illuc Claudius Labeo, quem captum et extra commeatum amandatum in Frisios diximus, corruptis custodibus perfugit; pollicitusque, si praesidium daretur, iturum in Batavos et potiorem civitatis partem ad societatem

Vocula comes to the colonia Agrippinensis.

Romanam retracturum, accepta peditum equitumque modica manu nihil apud Batavos ausus quosdam Nerviorum Baetasiorumque in arma traxit, et furtim magis quam bello Canninefates Marsacosque incursabat.

57 LVII. Vocula Gallorum fraude inlectus ad hostem contendit; nec procul Veteribus aberat, cum Classicus ac Tutor per speciem explorandi praegressi cum ducibus Germanorum pacta firmavere. tumque primum

He is abandoned by Tutor and Classicus

discreti a legionibus proprio vallo castra sua circumdant, obtestante Vocula non adeo turbatam civilibus armis rem Romanam, ut Treveris etiam Lingonibusque despectui sit. superesse fidas provincias, victores exercitus, fortunam imperii et ultores deos. sic olim Sacrovirum et Aeduos, nuper Vindicem Galliasque singulis proeliis concidisse. eadem rursus numina, eadem fata ruptores foederum expectarent. melius divo Iulio divoque Augusto notos eorum animos: Galbam et infracta tributa hostiles spiritus induisse. nunc hostes, quia molle servitium; cum spoliati exutique fuerint, amicos fore. haec ferociter locutus, postquam perstare in perfidia Classicum Tutoremque videt, verso itinere Novaesium concedit: Galli duum milium spatio distantibus campis consedere. illuc commeantium centurionum militumque emebantur animi, ut (flagitium incognitum Romani exercitus) in

and by his own officers.

externa verba iurarent pignusque tanti sceleris nece aut vinculis legatorum daretur. Vocula, quamquam plerique fugam suadebant, audendum ratus vocata contione in hunc modum disseruit:

LVIII. 'Numquam apud vos verba feci aut pro vobis sollicitior aut pro me securior. nam mihi exitium parari libens audio mortemque, in tot malis solacium, ut finem miseriarum expecto: vestri me pudet miseretque, adversus quos non proelium et acies parantur; id enim fas armorum et ius hostium est: bellum cum populo Romano vestris se manibus gesturum Classicus sperat imperiumque et sacramentum Galliarum ostentat. adeo nos, si fortuna in praesens virtusque deseruit, etiam vetera exempla deficiunt, quotiens Romanae legiones perire praeoptaverint, ne loco pellerentur? socii saepe nostri excindi urbes suas seque cum coniugibus ac liberis cremari pertulerunt, neque aliud pretium exitus quam fides famaque. tolerant cum maxime inopiam obsidiumque apud Vetera legiones nec terrore aut promissis demoventur: nobis super arma et viros et egregia castrorum munimenta frumentum et commeatus quamvis longo bello pares. pecunia nuper etiam donativo suffecit, quod sive a Vespasiano sive a Vitellio datum interpretari mavultis, ad imperatore certe Romano accepistis. tot bellorum victores, apud Geldubam, apud Vetera, fuso totiens hoste, si pavetis aciem, indignum id quidem, sed est vallum murique et trahendi artes, donec e proximis provinciis auxilia exercitusque concurrant. sane ego displiceam: sunt alii legati, tribuni, centurio denique aut miles, ne hoc prodigium toto terrarum orbe vulgetur, vobis satellitibus Civilem et Classicum Italiam invasuros. an, si ad moenia urbis Germani Gallique duxerint, arma patriae inferetis? horret 58

His speech to the army.

animus tanti flagitii imagine. Tutorine Trevero agentur excubiae? signum belli Batavus dabit? et Germanorum catervas supplebitis? quis deinde sceleris exitus, cum Romanae legiones *se* contra derexerint? transfugae e transfugis et proditores e proditoribus inter recens et vetus sacramentum invisi deis errabitis? te, Iuppiter optime maxime, quem per octingentos viginti annos tot triumphis coluimus, te, Quirine Romanae parens urbis, precor venerorque ut, si vobis non fuit cordi me duce haec castra incorrupta et intemerata servari, at certe pollui foedarique a Tutore et Classico ne sinatis: militibus Romanis aut innocentiam detis aut maturam et sine noxa paenitentiam."

His death.

59 LIX. Varie excepta oratio inter spem metumque ac pudorem. digressum Voculam et de supremis agitantem liberti servique prohibuere foedissimam mortem sponte praevenire. et Classicus misso Aemilio Longino, desertore primae legionis, caedem eius maturavit; Herennium et Numisium legatos vinciri satis visum. dein sumptis Romani imperii insignibus in castra venit. nec illi, quamquam ad omne facinus durato, verba ultra suppeditavere, quam ut sacramentum recitaret: iuravere qui aderant pro imperio Galliarum. interfectorem Voculae altis ordinibus, ceteros, ut quisque flagitium navaverat, praemiis attollit.

Divisae inde inter Tutorem et Classicum curae. Tutor valida manu circumdatos Agrippinenses quantumque militum apud superiorem Rheni ripam in eadem verba adigit, occisis Mogontiaci tribunis, pulso

castrorum praefecto, qui detractaverant: Classicus corruptissimum quemque e deditis pergere ad obsessos iubet, veniam ostentantes, si praesentia sequerentur: aliter nihil spei, famem ferrumque et extrema passuros. adiecere qui missi erant exemplum suum.

His soldiers take service with the Gauls.

60

LX. Obsessos hinc fides, inde egestas inter decus ac flagitium distrahebant. cunctantibus solita insolitaque alimenta deerant, absumptis iumentis equisque et ceteris animalibus, quae profana foedaque in usum necessitas vertit. virgulta postremo et stirpes et internatas saxis herbas vellentes miseriarum patientiaeque documentum fuere, donec egregiam laudem fine turpi macularent, missis ad Civilem legatis vitam orantes. neque ante preces admissae, quam in verba Galliarum iurarent: tum pactus praedam castrorum dat custodes, qui pecuniam calones sarcinas retentarent atque ipsos leves abeuntes prosequerentur. ad quintum fere lapidem coorti Germani incautum agmen adgrediuntur. pugnacissimus quisque in vestigio, multi palantes occubuere: ceteri retro in castra perfugiunt, querente sane Civile et increpante Germanos, tamquam fidem per scelus abrumperent. simulata ea fuerint an retinere saevientes nequiverit, parum adfirmatur. direptis castris faces iniciunt, cunctosque, qui proelio superfuerant, incendium hausit.

Surrender and extermination of the besieged at Vetera.

61

LXI. Civilis barbaro voto post coepta adversus Romanos arma propexum rutilatumque crinem patrata demum caede legionum deposuit; et ferebatur parvulo filio quosdam captivorum sagittis iaculisque

puerilibus figendos obtulisse. ceterum neque se neque quemquam Batavum in verba Galliarum adegit, fisus Germanorum opibus et, si certandum adversus Gallos de possessione rerum foret, inclutus fama et potior. Munius Lupercus legatus legionis inter dona missus Velaedae. ea virgo nationis Bructerae late imperitabat, vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque feminarum fatidicas et augescente superstitione arbitrantur deas. tuncque Velaedae auctoritas adolevit; nam prosperas Germanis res et excidium legionum praedixerat. sed Lupercus in itinere interfectus. pauci centurionum tribunorumque in Gallia geniti reservantur pignus societati. cohortium alarum legionum hiberna subversa cremataque, iis tantum relictis, quae Mogontiaci ac Vindonissae sita sunt.

Veleda.

Death of Munius Lupercus.

62 LXII. Legio sexta decuma cum auxiliis simul deditis a Novaesio in coloniam Treverorum transgredi iubetur, praefinita die, intra quam castris excederet. medium omne tempus per varias curas egere, ignavissimus quisque caesorum apud Vetera exemplo paventes, melior pars rubore et infamia: quale illud iter? quis dux viae? et omnia in arbitrio eorum, quos vitae necisque dominos fecissent. alii nulla dedecoris cura pecuniam aut carissima sibimet ipsi circumdare, quidam expedire arma telisque tamquam in aciem accingi. haec meditantibus advenit proficiscendi hora expectatione tristior. quippe intra vallum deformitas haud perinde notabilis: detexit ignominiam campus et dies. revulsae imperatorum imagines, indecora

The XVIth legion is sent to the colonia Treverorum.

signa, fulgentibus hinc inde Gallorum vexillis; silens agmen et velut longae exsequiae; dux Claudius Sanctus effosso oculo dirus ore, ingenio debilior. duplicatur flagitium, postquam desertis Bonnensibus castris altera se legio miscuerat. et vulgata captarum legionum fama cuncti, qui paulo ante Romanorum nomen horrebant, procurrentes ex agris tectisque et undique effusi insolito spectaculo nimium fruebantur. non tulit ala Picentina gaudium insultantis vulgi, spretisque Sancti promissis aut minis Mogontiacum abeunt; ac forte obvio interfectore Voculae Longino coniectis in eum telis initium exsolvendae in posterum culpae fecere: legiones nihil mutato itinere ante moenia Treverorum considunt.

LXIII. Civilis et Classicus rebus secundis sublati 63
an coloniam Agrippinensem diripiendam exercitibus suis permitterent, dubitavere. saevitia ingenii et cupidine praedae ad excidium civitatis trahebantur: obstabat ratio belli et novum imperium inchoantibus utilis clementiae fama; Civilem etiam beneficii memoria flexit, quod filium eius primo rerum motu in colonia Agrippinensi deprehensum honorata custodia habuerant. sed Transrhenanis gentibus invisa civitas opulentia auctuque; neque alium finem belli rebantur, quam si promisca ea sedes omnibus Germanis foret aut disiecta Ubios quoque dispersisset.

Proposal to destroy the colonia Agrippinensis.

LXIV. Igitur Tencteri, Rheno discreta gens, missis 64
legatis mandata apud concilium Agrippinensium edi iubent, quae ferocissimus e legatis in hunc modum protulit: 'redisse vos in corpus nomenque Ger-

maniae communibus deis et praecipuo deorum Marti grates agimus, vobisque gratulamur, quod tandem liberi inter liberos eritis; nam ad hunc diem flumina ac terras et caelum quodam modo ipsum clauserant Romani, ut conloquia congressusque nostros arcerent, vel, quod contumeliosius est viris ad arma natis, inermes ac prope nudi sub custode et pretio coiremus. sed ut amicitia societasque nostra in aeternum rata sint, postulamus a vobis, muros coloniae, munimenta servitii detrahatis (etiam fera animalia, si clausa teneas, virtutis obliviscuntur); Romanos omnes in finibus vestris trucidetis (haud facile libertas et domini miscentur): bona interfectorum in medium cedant, ne quis occulere quicquam aut segregare causam suam possit. liceat nobis vobisque utramque ripam colere, ut olim maioribus nostris: quo modo lucem diemque omnibus hominibus, ita omnes terras fortibus viris natura aperuit. instituta cultumque patrium resumite, abruptis voluptatibus, quibus Romani plus adversus subiectos quam armis valent. sincerus et integer et servitutis oblitus populus aut ex aequo agetis aut aliis imperitabitis.'

Mission of the Tencteri to the townsmen.

65 LXV. Agrippinenses sumpto consultandi spatio, quando neque subire condiciones metus futuri neque palam aspernari condicio praesens sinebat, in hunc modum respondent: 'quae prima libertatis facultas data est, avidius quam cautius sumpsimus, ut vobis ceterisque Germanis, consanguineis nostris, iungeremur. muros civitatis, congregantibus se cum maxime

Agrippinenses open their gates conditionally.

Romanorum exercitibus, augere nobis quam diruere tutius est. si qui ex Italia aut provinciis alienigenae in finibus nostris fuerant, eos bellum absumpsit vel in suas quisque sedes refugerunt. deductis olim et nobiscum per conubium sociatis quique mox provenerunt haec patria est; nec vos adeo iniquos existimamus, ut interfici a nobis parentes fratres liberos nostros velitis. vectigal et onera commerciorum resolvimus: sint transitus incustoditi, sed diurni et inermes, donec nova et recentia iura vetustate in consuetudinem vertantur. arbitrum habebimus Civilem et Velaedam, apud quos pacta sancientur.' sic lenitis Tencteris legati ad Civilem ac Velaedam missi cum donis cuncta ex voluntate Agrippinensium perpetravere; sed coram adire adloquique Velaedam negatum: arcebantur adspectu, quo venerationis plus inesset. ipsa edita in turre; delectus e propinquis consulta responsaque ut internuntius numinis portabat.

LXVI. Civilis societate Agrippinensium auctus **66** proximas civitates adfectare aut adversantibus bellum inferre statuit. occupatisque Sunucis et iuventute eorum per cohortes composita, quo minus ultra pergeret, Claudius Labeo Baetasiorum Tungrorumque et Nerviorum tumultuaria manu restitit, fretus loco, quia pontem Mosae fluminis anteceperat. pugnabaturque in angustiis ambigue, donec Germani tranatantes terga Labeonis invasere; simul Civilis, ausus an ex composito, intulit se agmini Tungrorum, et clara voce 'non ideo' inquit 'bellum sumpsimus, ut Batavi et Treveri gentibus imperent: procul haec a nobis adrogantia. accipite

Civilis defeats Labeo.

societatem; transgredior ad vos, seu me ducem seu militem mavultis.' movebatur vulgus condebantque gladios, cum Campanus ac Iuvenalis e primoribus Tungrorum universam ei gentem dedidere; Labeo antequam circumveniretur, profugit. Civilis Baetasios quoque ac Nervios in fidem acceptos copiis suis adiunxit, ingens rerum, perculsis civitatum animis vel sponte inclinantibus.

Sabinus and the Lingones defeated by the Sequani.

67 LXVII. Interea Iulius Sabinus proiectis foederis Romani monumentis Caesarem se salutari iubet magnamque et inconditam popularium turbam in Sequanos rapit, conterminam civitatem et nobis fidam; nec Sequani detractavere certamen. fortuna melioribus adfuit: fusi Lingones. Sabinus festinatum temere proelium pari formidine deseruit; utque famam exitii sui faceret, villam, in quam perfugerat, cremavit, illic voluntaria morte interisse creditus. sed quibus artibus latebrisque vitam per novem mox annos traduxerit, simul amicorum eius constantiam et insigne Epponinae uxoris exemplum suo loco reddemus. Sequanorum prospera acie belli impetus stetit. resipiscere paulatim civitates fasque et foedera respicere, principibus Remis, qui per Gallias edixere, ut missis legatis in commune consultarent, libertas an pax placeret.

68 LXVIII. At Romae cuncta in deterius audita Mucianum angebant, ne quamquam egregii duces (iam enim Gallum Annium et Petilium Cerialem delegerat) summam belli parum tolerarent. nec relinquenda urbs sine rectore; et Domitiani indomitae

libidines timebantur, suspectis, uti diximus, Primo Antonio Varoque Arrio. Varus praetorianis praepositus vim atque arma retinebat: eum Mucianus pulsum loco, ne sine solacio ageret, annonae praefecit. utque Domitiani animum Varo haud alienum deleniret, Arrecinum Clementem, domui Vespasiani per adfinitatem innexum et gratissimum Domitiano, praetorianis praeposuit, patrem eius sub Gaio Caesare egregie functum ea cura dictitans, laetum militibus idem nomen, atque ipsum, quamquam senatorii ordinis, ad utraque munia sufficere. adsumuntur e civitate clarissimus quisque et alii per ambitionem. simul Domitianus Mucianusque accingebantur, dispari animo, ille spe ac iuventa properus, hic moras nectens, quis flagrantem retineret, ne ferocia aetatis et pravis impulsoribus, si exercitum invasisset, paci belloque male consuleret. legiones victrices, octava, undecima, Vitellianarum unaetvicensima, e recens conscriptis secunda Poeninis Cottianisque Alpibus, pars monte Graio traducuntur; quarta decuma legio e Britannia, sexta ac decuma ex Hispania accitae.

Mucianus' provisions for the government of Rome.

Igitur venientis exercitus fama et suopte ingenio ad mitiora inclinantes Galliarum civitates in Remos convenere. Treverorum legatio illic opperiebatur, acerrimo instinctore belli Iulio Valentino. is meditata oratione cuncta magnis imperiis obiectari solita contumeliasque et invidiam in populum Romanum effudit, turbidus miscendis seditionibus et plerisque gratus vaecordi facundia.

Meeting of the Gauls.

LXIX. At Iulius Auspex e primoribus Remorum, **69**

vim Romanam pacisque bona dissertans et sumi bellum etiam ab ignavis, strenuissimi cuiusque periculo geri, iamque super caput legiones, sapientissimum quemque reverentia fideque, iuniores periculo ac metu continuit: et Valentini animum laudabant, consilium Auspicis sequebantur. constat obstitisse Treveris Lingonibusque apud Gallias, quod Vindicis motu cum Verginio steterant. deterruit plerosque provinciarum aemulatio: quod bello caput? unde ius auspiciumque peteretur? quam, si cuncta provenissent, sedem imperio legerent? nondum victoria, iam discordia erat, aliis foedera, quibusdam opes viresque aut vetustatem originis per iurgia iactantibus: taedio futurorum praesentia placuere.

The Treveri are still for war.

scribuntur ad Treveros epistulae nomine Galliarum, ut abstinerent armis, impetrabili venia et paratis deprecatoribus, si paeniteret: restitit idem Valentinus obstruxitque civitatis suae aures, haud perinde instruendo bello intentus quam frequens contionibus.

70 LXX. Igitur non Treveri neque Lingones ceteraeve rebellium civitates pro magnitudine suscepti discriminis agere; ne duces quidem in unum consulere, sed Civilis avia Belgarum circumibat, dum Claudium Labeonem capere aut exturbare nititur; Classicus segne plerumque otium trahens velut parto imperio fruebatur; ne Tutor quidem maturavit superiorem Germaniae ripam et ardua Alpium praesidiis claudere. atque interim unaetvicensima legio Vindonissa, Sextilius Felix cum auxiliariis cohortibus per Raetiam inrupere; accessit ala Singularium, excita olim

a Vitellio, deinde in partes Vespasiani transgressa. praeerat Iulius Briganticus sorore Civilis genitus, ut ferme acerrima proximorum odia sunt invisus avunculo infensusque. Tutor Treverorum copias, recenti Vangionum, Caeracatium, Tribocorum dilectu auctas veterano pedite atque equite firmavit, corruptis spe aut metu subactis legionariis; qui primo cohortem praemissam a Sextilio Felice interficiunt, mox ubi duces exercitusque Romanus propinquabant, honesto transfugio rediere, secutis Tribocis Vangionibusque et Caeracatibus. Tutor Treveris comitantibus, vitato Mogontiaco, Bingium concessit, fidens loco, quia pontem Navae fluminis abruperat, sed incursu cohortium, quas Sextilius ducebat, et reperto vado proditus fususque. ea clade perculsi Treveri, et plebes omissis armis per agros palatur: quidam principum, ut primi posuisse bellum viderentur, in civitates, quae societatem Romanam non exuerant, perfugere. legiones a Novaesio Bonnaque in Treveros, ut supra memoravimus, traductae se ipsae in verba Vespasiani adigunt. haec Valentino absente gesta; qui ubi adventabat furens cunctaque rursus in turbas et exitium conversurus, legiones in Mediomatricos, sociam civitatem, abscessere: Valentinus ac Tutor in arma Treveros retrahunt, occisis Herennio ac Numisio legatis, quo minore spe veniae cresceret vinculum sceleris.

Defeat of Tutor at Bingen.

LXXI. Hic belli status erat, cum Petilius Cerialis **71**
Mogontiacum venit. eius adventu erectae spes; ipse pugnae avidus et contemnendis quam cavendis hostibus melior, ferocia verborum militem incendebat, ubi

primum congredi licuisset, nullam proelio moram facturus. dilectus per Galliam habitos in civitates remittit ac nuntiare iubet sufficere imperio legiones: socii ad munia pacis redirent securi velut confecto bello, quod Romanae manus excepissent. auxit ea res Gallorum obsequium: nam recepta iuventute facilius tributa toleravere, proniores ad officia, quod spernebantur. at Civilis et Classicus ubi pulsum Tutorem, caesos Treveros, cuncta hostibus prospera accepere, trepidi ac properantes, dum dispersas suorum copias conducunt, crebris interim nuntiis Valentinum monuere, ne summae rei periculum faceret. eo rapidius Cerialis, missis in Mediomatricos qui breviore itinere legiones in hostem verterent, contracto quod erat militum Mogontiaci quantumque secum transvexerat, tertiis castris Rigodulum venit, quem locum magna Treverorum manu Valentinus insederat, montibus aut Mosella amne saeptum; et addiderat fossas obicesque saxorum. nec deterruere ea munimenta Romanum ducem, quo minus peditem perrumpere iuberet, equitum aciem in collem erigeret, spreto hoste, quem temere collectum haud ita loco iuvari, ut non plus suis in virtute foret. paulum morae in adscensu, dum missilia hostium praevehuntur: ut ventum in manus, deturbati ruinae modo praecipitantur. et pars equitum aequioribus iugis circumvecta nobilissimos Belgarum, in quis ducem Valentinum, cepit.

Cerialis defeats Valentinus and the Treveri.

72 LXXII. Cerialis postero die coloniam Treverorum ingressus est, avido milite eruendae civitatis. hanc

esse Classici, hanc Tutoris patriam; horum scelere clausas caesasque legiones. quid tantum Cremonam meruisse? quam e gremio Italiae raptam, quia unius noctis moram victoribus attulerit. stare in confinio Germaniae integram sedem spoliis exercituum et ducum caedibus ovantem. redigeretur praeda in fiscum: ipsis sufficere ignes et rebellis coloniae ruinas, quibus tot castrorum excidia pensarentur. Cerialis metu infamiae, si licentia saevitiaque inbuere militem crederetur, pressit iras: et paruere, posito civium bello ad externa modestiores. convertit inde animos accitarum e Mediomatricis legionum miserabilis adspectus. stabant conscientia flagitii maestae, fixis in terram oculis: nulla inter coeuntes exercitus consalutatio; neque solantibus hortantibusve responsa dabant, abditi per tentoria et lucem ipsam vitantes. nec perinde periculum aut metus quam pudor ac dedecus obstupefecerat, attonitis etiam victoribus, qui vocem precesque adhibere non ausi lacrimis ac silentio veniam poscebant, donec Cerialis mulceret animos, fato acta dictitans, quae militum ducumque discordia vel fraude hostium evenissent. primum illum stipendiorum et sacramenti diem haberent: priorum facinorum neque imperatorem neque se meminisse. tunc recepti in eadem castra, et dictum per manipulos, ne quis in certamine iurgiove seditionem aut cladem commilitoni obiectaret.

Cerialis and the army at Treves.

LXXIII. Mox Treveros ac Lingonas ad contionem vocatos ita adloquitur: 'neque ego umquam facundiam exercui, et populus Romanus virtutem armis adfir- 73

His speech to the Gauls.

mavit: sed quoniam apud vos verba plurimum valent bonaque ac mala non sua natura, sed vocibus seditiosorum aestimantur, statui pauca disserere, quae profligato bello utilius sit vobis audisse quam nobis dixisse. terram vestram ceterorumque Gallorum ingressi sunt duces imperatoresque Romani nulla cupidine, sed maioribus vestris invocantibus; quos discordiae usque ad exitium fatigabant, et acciti auxilio Germani sociis pariter atque hostibus servitutem inposuerant. quot proeliis adversus Cimbros Teutonosque, quantis exercituum nostrorum laboribus quove eventu Germanica bella tractaverimus, satis clarum. nec ideo Rhenum insedimus, ut Italiam tueremur, sed ne quis alius Ariovistus regno Galliarum poteretur. an vos cariores Civili Batavisque et transrhenanis gentibus creditis, quam maioribus eorum patres avique vestri fuerunt? eadem semper causa Germanis transcendendi in Gallias, libido atque avaritia et mutandae sedis amor, ut relictis paludibus et solitudinibus suis fecundissimum hoc solum vosque ipsos possiderent: ceterum libertas et speciosa nomina praetexuntur; nec quisquam alienum servitium et dominationem sibi concupivit, ut non eadem ista vocabula usurparet.'

74 LXXIV. 'Regna bellaque per Gallias semper fuere, donec in nostrum ius concederetis. nos, quamquam totiens lacessiti, iure victoriae id solum vobis addidimus, quo pacem tueremur; nam neque quies gentium sine armis neque arma sine stipendiis neque stipendia sine tributis haberi queunt: cetera in communi sita

sunt. ipsi plerumque legionibus nostris praesidetis, ipsi has aliasque provincias regitis; nihil separatum clausumve. et laudatorum principum usus ex aequo quamvis procul agentibus: saevi proximis ingruunt. quo modo sterilitatem aut nimios imbres et cetera naturae mala, ita luxum vel avaritiam dominantium tolerate. vitia erunt, donec homines, sed neque haec continua et meliorum interventu pensantur: nisi forte Tutore et Classico regnantibus moderatius imperium speratis, aut minoribus quam nunc tributis parabuntur exercitus, quibus Germani Britannique arceantur. nam pulsis, quod di prohibeant, Romanis quid aliud quam bella omnium inter se gentium existent? octingentorum annorum fortuna disciplinaque compages haec coaluit, quae convelli sine exitio convellentium non potest: sed vobis maximum discrimen, penes quos aurum et opes, praecipuae bellorum causae. proinde pacem et urbem, quam victi victoresque eodem iure obtinemus, amate colite: moneant vos utriusque fortunae documenta, ne contumaciam cum pernicie quam obsequium cum securitate malitis.' tali oratione graviora metuentes conposuit erexitque.

Apologia pro imperio Romano.

LXXV. Tenebantur victore exercitu Treveri, cum 75
Civilis et Classicus misere ad Cerialem epistulas, quarum haec sententia fuit: Vespasianum, quamquam nuntios occultarent, excessisse vita, urbem atque Italiam interno bello consumptam, Muciani ac Domitiani vana et sine viribus nomina: si Cerialis imperium Galliarum velit, ipsos finibus civitatium suarum contentos; si proelium

Civilis' proposal to Cerialis.

malit, ne id quidem abnuere. ad ea Cerialis Civili et Classico nihil: eum qui attulerat *et* ipsas epistulas ad Domitianum misit.

Hostes divisis copiis advenere undique. plerique culpabant Cerialem passum iungi quos discretos intercipere licuisset. Romanus exercitus castra fossa valloque circumdedit, quis temere antea intutis consederat.

The Germans resolve on immediate attack.

76 LXXVI. Apud Germanos diversis sententiis certabatur. Civilis opperiendas Transrhenanorum gentes, quarum terrore fractae populi Romani vires obtererentur: Gallos quid aliud quam praedam victoribus? et tamen, quod roboris sit, Belgas secum palam aut voto stare. Tutor cunctatione crescere rem Romanam adfirmabat, coeuntibus undique exercitibus: transvectam e Britannia legionem, accitas ex Hispania, adventare ex Italia; nec subitum militem, sed veterem expertumque belli. nam Germanos, qui ab ipsis sperentur, non iuberi, non regi, sed cuncta ex libidine agere; pecuniamque ac dona, quis solis corrumpantur, maiora apud Romanos, et neminem adeo in arma pronum, ut non idem pretium quietis quam periculi malit. quod si statim congrediantur, nullas esse Ceriali nisi e reliquiis Germanici exercitus legiones, foederibus Galliarum obstrictas. idque ipsum, quod inconditam nuper Valentini manum contra spem suam fuderint, alimentum illis ducique temeritatis: ausuros rursus venturosque in manus non inperiti adulescentuli, verba et contiones quam ferrum et arma meditantis, sed Civilis et Classici;

quos ubi adspexerint, redituram in animos formidinem, fugam famemque ac totiens captis precariam vitam. neque Treveros aut Lingonas benevolentia contineri: resumpturos arma, ubi metus abscesserit. diremit consiliorum diversitatem adprobata Tutoris sententia Classicus statimque exsequuntur.

LXXVII. Media acies Ubiis Lingonibusque data; 77
dextro cornu cohortes Batavorum, sinistro Bructeri Tencterique. pars montibus, alii via, alii viam inter Mosellamque flumen tam improvisi adsiluere, ut in cubiculo ac lectulo Cerialis (neque enim noctem in castris egerat) pugnari simul vincique suos audierit, increpans pavorem nuntiantium, donec universa clades in oculis fuit, perrupta legionum castra, fusi equites, medius Mosellae pons, qui ulteriora coloniae adnectit, ab hostibus insessus. Cerialis turbidis rebus intrepidus et fugientes manu retrahens, intecto corpore promptus inter tela, felici temeritate et fortissimi cuiusque adcursu reciperatum pontem electa manu firmavit. mox in castra reversus palantes captarum apud Novaesium Bonnamque legionum manipulos et rarum apud signa militem ac prope circumventas aquilas videt. incensus ira 'non Flaccum' inquit, 'non Voculam deseritis: nulla hic proditio; neque aliud excusandum habeo, quam quod vos Gallici foederis oblitos redisse in memoriam Romani sacramenti temere credidi. adnumerabor Numisiis et Herenniis, ut omnes legati vestri aut militum manibus aut hostium ceciderint. ite, nuntiate Vespasiano vel, quod propius est, Civili et

They surprise the camp at Treves

Classico, relictum a vobis in acie ducem: venient legiones, quae neque me inultum neque vos impunitos patiantur.'

78 LXXVIII. Vera erant, et a tribunis praefectisque eadem ingerebantur. consistunt per cohortes et manipulos; neque enim poterat patescere acies effuso hoste et impedientibus tentoriis sarcinisque, cum intra vallum pugnaretur. Tutor et Classicus et *but are repulsed.* Civilis suis quisque locis pugnam ciebant, Gallos pro libertate, Batavos pro gloria, Germanos ad praedam instigantes. et cuncta pro hostibus erant, donec legio unaetvicensima patentiore quam ceterae spatio conglobata sustinuit ruentes, mox inpulit. nec sine ope divina mutatis repente animis terga victores vertere. ipsi territos se cohortium adspectu ferebant, quae primo impetu disiectae summis rursus iugis congregabantur ac speciem novi auxilii fecerant. sed obstitit vincentibus pravum inter ipsos certamen, omisso hoste spolia consectandi. Cerialis ut incuria prope rem adflixit, ita constantia restituit; secutusque fortunam castra hostium eodem die capit excinditque.

79 LXXIX. Nec in longum quies militi data. orabant auxilium Agrippinenses offerebantque uxorem ac sororem Civilis et filiam Classici, relicta sibi pignora societatis. atque interim dispersos in domibus Germanos trucidaverant; unde metus et iustae preces invocantium, antequam hostes reparatis viribus ad spem vel ad ultionem accingerentur. namque et Civilis illuc intenderat, non invalidus, flagrantissima cohortium suarum integra, quae ex Chaucis Frisiisque

Cerialis advances to Cologne.

composita Tolbiaci in finibus Agrippinensium agebat: sed tristis nuntius avertit, deletam cohortem dolo Agrippinensium, qui largis epulis vinoque sopitos Germanos, clausis foribus, igne iniecto cremavere; simul Cerialis propero agmine subvenit. circumsteterat Civilem et alius metus, ne quarta decuma legio adiuncta Britannica classe adflictaret Batavos qua Oceano ambiuntur. sed legionem terrestri itinere Fabius Priscus legatus in Nervios Tungrosque duxit, eaeque civitates in deditionem acceptae: classem ultro Canninefates adgressi sunt maiorque pars navium depressa aut capta. et Nerviorum multitudinem, sponte commotam ut pro Romanis bellum capesseret, idem Canninefates fudere. Classicus quoque adversus equites Novaesium a Ceriale praemissos secundum proelium fecit: quae modica, sed crebra damna famam victoriae nuper partae lacerabant.

Successes of Civilis.

LXXX. Isdem diebus Mucianus Vitellii filium interfici iubet, mansuram discordiam obtendens, ni semina belli restinxisset. neque Antonium Primum adsciri inter comites a Domitiano passus est, favore militum anxius et superbia viri aequalium quoque, adeo superiorum intolerantis. profectus ad Vespasianum Antonius ut non pro spe sua excipitur, ita neque averso imperatoris animo. trahebatur in diversa, hinc meritis Antonii, cuius ductu confectum haud dubie bellum erat, inde Muciani epistulis: simul ceteri ut infestum tumidumque insectabantur, adiunctis prioris vitae criminibus. neque ipse deerat adro- 80

Reception of Antonius Primus by Vespasian.

gantia vocare offensas, nimius commemorandis quae meruisset: alios ut inbelles, Caecinam ut captivum ac dediticium increpat. unde paulatim levior viliorque haberi, manente tamen in speciem amicitia.

81 LXXXI. Per eos menses, quibus Vespasianus Alexandriae statos aestivis flatibus dies et certe maris opperiebatur, multa miracula evenere, quis caelestis favor et quaedam in Vespasianum inclinatio numinum ostenderetur. e plebe Alexandrina quidam oculorum tabe notus genua eius advolvitur, remedium caecitatis exposcens gemitu, monitu Serapidis dei, quem dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit; precabaturque principem, ut genas et oculorum orbes dignaretur respergere oris excremento. alius manum aeger eodem deo auctore, ut pede ac vestigio Caesaris calcaretur, orabat. Vespasianus primo inridere, aspernari; atque illis instantibus modo famam vanitatis metuere, modo obsecratione ipsorum et vocibus adulantium in spem induci: postremo aestimari a medicis iubet, an talis caecitas ac debilitas ope humana superabiles forent. medici varie disserere: huic non exesam vim luminis et redituram, si pellerentur obstantia; illi elapsos in pravum artus, si salubris vis adhibeatur, posse integrari. id fortasse cordi deis et divino ministerio principem electum; denique patrati remedii gloriam penes Caesarem, inriti ludibrium penes miseros fore. igitur Vespasianus cuncta fortunae suae patere ratus nec quicquam ultra incredibile, laeto ipse vultu, erecta quae adstabat multitudine, iussa exsequitur. statim conversa ad usum manus, at

Miracles performed by Vespasian at Alexandria.

caeco reluxit dies. utrumque qui interfuere nunc quoque memorant, postquam nullum mendacio pretium.

LXXXII. Altior inde Vespasiano cupido adeundi 82
sacram sedem, ut super rebus imperii consuleret; arceri templo cunctos iubet. atque ingressus intentusque numini respexit pone tergum e primoribus Aegyptiorum nomine Basiliden, quem procul Alexandria plurium dierum itinere et aegro corpore detineri haud ignorabat. percontatur sacerdotes, num illo die Basilides templum inisset, percontatur obvios, num in urbe visus sit; denique missis equitibus explorat, illo temporis momento octoginta milibus passuum afuisse: tunc divinam speciem et vim responsi ex nomine Basilidis interpretatus est.

His visit to the temple of Serapis.

LXXXIII. Origo dei nondum nostris auctoribus 83
celebrata: Aegyptiorum antistites sic memorant, Ptolemaeo regi, qui Macedonum primus Aegypti opes firmavit, cum Alexandriae recens conditae moenia templaque et religiones adderet, oblatum per quietem decore eximio et maiore quam humana specie iuvenem, qui moneret, ut fidissimis amicorum in Pontum missis effigiem suam acciret; laetum id regno magnamque et inclutam sedem fore, quae excepisset: simul visum eundem iuvenem in caelum igne plurimo attolli. Ptolemaeus omine et miraculo excitus sacerdotibus Aegyptiorum, quibus mos talia intellegere, nocturnos visus aperit. atque illis Ponti et externorum parum gnaris, Timotheum Atheniensem e gente Eumolpidarum, quem ut antistitem caerimoniarum Eleusine

Legends as to the origin of the deity.

exciverat, quaenam illa superstitio, quod numen, interrogat. Timotheus quaesitis qui in Pontum meassent, cognoscit urbem illic Sinopen, nec procul templum vetere inter accolas fama Iovis Ditis: namque et muliebrem effigiem adsistere, quam plerique Proserpinam vocent. sed Ptolemaeus, ut sunt ingenia regum pronus ad formidinem, ubi securitas rediit, voluptatum quam religionum adpetens neglegere paulatim aliasque ad curas animum vertere, donec eadem species terribilior iam et instantior exitium ipsi regnoque denuntiaret, ni iussa patrarentur. tum legatos et dona Scydrothemidi regi (is tunc Sinopensibus imperitabat) expediri iubet praecipitque navigaturis, ut Pythicum Apollinem adeant. illis mare secundum, sors oraculi haud ambigua: irent simulacrumque patris sui reveherent, sororis relinquerent.

84 LXXXIV. Ut Sinopen venere, munera preces mandata regis sui Scydrothemidi adlegant. qui diversus animi modo numen pavescere, modo minis adversantis populi terreri; saepe donis promissisque legatorum flectebatur. atque interim triennio exacto Ptolemaeus non studium, non preces omittere: dignitatem legatorum, numerum navium, auri pondus augebat. tum minax facies Scydrothemidi offertur, ne destinata deo ultra moraretur: cunctantem varia pernicies morbique et manifesta caelestium ira graviorque in dies fatigabat. advocata contione iussa numinis, suos Ptolemaeique visus, ingruentia mala exponit: vulgus aversari regem, invidere Aegypto, sibi metuere templumque circumsedere. maior hinc fama tradidit deum ipsum adpulsas litori navis sponte

conscendisse: mirum inde dictu, tertio die tantum maris emensi Alexandriam adpelluntur. templum pro magnitudine urbis extructum loco, cui nomen Rhacotis; fuerat illic sacellum Serapidi atque Isidi antiquitus sacratum. haec de origine et advectu dei celeberrima. nec sum ignarus esse quosdam, qui Seleucia urbe Suriae accitum regnante Ptolemaeum, sedem, ex qua transierit, Memphim perhibent, inclutam olim et veteris Aegypti columen. deum ipsum multi Aesculapium, quod medeatur aegris corporibus, quidam Osirin, antiquissimum illis gentibus numen, plerique Iovem ut rerum omnium potentem, plurimi Ditem patrem insignibus, quae in ipso manifesta, aut per ambages coniectant.

LXXXV. At Domitianus Mucianusque antequam Alpibus propinquarent, prosperos rerum in Treveris gestarum nuntios accepere. praecipua victoriae fides dux hostium Valentinus nequaquam abiecto animo, quos spiritus gessisset, vultu ferebat. auditus ideo tantum, ut nosceretur ingenium eius, damnatusque inter ipsum supplicium exprobranti cuidam patriam eius captam accipere se solacium mortis respondit. sed Mucianus quod diu occultaverat, ut recens exprompsit, quoniam benignitate deum fractae hostium vires forent, parum decore Domitianum confecto prope bello alienae gloriae interventurum. si status imperii aut salus Galliarum in discrimine verteretur, debuisse Caesarem in acie stare, Canninefates Batavosque minoribus ducibus delegandos: ipse Lugudini vim fortunamque principatus e proximo ostentaret, nec 85

Domitian's journey to the north cut short by Mucianus.

parvis periculis inmixtus et maioribus non defuturus.

86 LXXXVI. Intellegebantur artes, sed pars obsequii in eo, ne deprehenderentur: ita Lugdunum ventum. unde creditur Domitianus occultis ad Cerialem nuntiis fidem eius temptavisse, an praesenti sibi exercitum imperiumque traditurus foret. qua cogitatione bellum adversus patrem agitaverit an opes viresque adversus fratrem, in incerto fuit: nam Cerialis salubri temperamento elusit ut vana pueriliter cupientem. Domitianus sperni a senioribus iuventam suam cernens modica quoque et usurpata antea munia imperii omittebat, simplicitatis ac modestiae imagine in altitudinem conditus studiumque litterarum et amorem carminum simulans, quo velaret animum et fratris *se* aemulationi subduceret, cuius disparem mitioremque naturam contra interpretabatur.

Domitian retires from the administration.

HISTORIARUM

LIBER V.

Titus leads his army to Jerusalem.

1. Eiusdem anni principio Caesar Titus, perdomandae Iudaeae delectus a patre et privatis utriusque rebus militia clarus, maiore tum vi famaque agebat, certantibus provinciarum et exercituum studiis. atque ipse, ut super fortunam crederetur, decorum se promptumque in armis ostendebat, comitate et adloquiis officia provocans ac plerumque in opere, in agmine gregario militi mixtus, incorrupto ducis honore. tres eum in Iudaea legiones, quinta et decuma et quinta decuma, vetus Vespasiani miles, excepere. addidit e Suria duodecumam et adductos Alexandria duoetvicensimanos tertianosque; comitabantur viginti sociae cohortes, octo equitum alae, simul Agrippa Sohaemusque reges et auxilia regis Antiochi validaque et solito inter accolas odio infensa Iudaeis Arabum manus multique, quos urbe atque Italia sua quemque spes acciverat occupandi principem adhuc vacuum. his cum copiis fines hostium ingressus composito agmine, cuncta explorans paratusque decernere, haud procul Hierosolymis castra facit.

2 II. Sed quoniam famosae urbis supremum diem traditurі sumus, congruens videtur primordia eius aperire.

Stories of the origin of the Jewish nation.

Iudaeos Creta insula profugos novissima Libyae insedisse memorant, qua tempestate Saturnus vi Iovis pulsus cesserit regnis. argumentum e nomine petitur: inclutum in Creta Idam montem, accolas Idaeos aucto in barbarum cognomento Iudaeos vocitari. quidam regnante Iside exundantem per Aegyptum multitudinem ducibus Hierosolymo ac Iuda proximas in terras exoneratam: plerique Aethiopum prolem, quos rege Cepheo metus atque odium mutare sedes perpulerit. sunt qui tradant Assyrios convenas, indigum agrorum populum, parte Aegypti potitos, mox proprias urbes Hebraeasque terras et propiora Suriae coluisse. clara alii Iudaeorum initia, Solymos, carminibus Homeri celebratam gentem, conditae urbi Hierosolyma nomen e suo fecisse.

3 III. Plurimi auctores consentiunt orta per Aegyptum tabe, quae corpora foedaret, regem Bocchorim adito Hammonis oraculo remedium petentem purgare regnum et id genus hominum ut invisum deis alias in terras avehere iussum.

Moses and the Exodus.

sic conquisitum collectumque vulgus, postquam vastis locis relictum sit, ceteris per lacrimas torpentibus, Moysen unum exulum monuisse, ne quam deorum hominumve opem exspectarent utrisque deserti, sed sibimet duce caelesti crederent, primo cuius auxilio praesentes miserias pepulissent. adsensere atque omnium ignari fortuitum iter incipiunt.

sed nihil aeque quam inopia aquae fatigabat, iamque haud procul exitio totis campis procubuerant, cum grex asinorum agrestium e pastu in rupem nemore opacam concessit. secutus Moyses coniectura herbidi soli largas aquarum venas aperit. id levamen, et continuum sex dierum iter emensi septimo pulsis cultoribus optinuere terras, in quis urbs et templum dicata.

IV. Moyses quo sibi in posterum gentem firmaret, **4**
novos ritus contrariosque ceteris mortalibus indidit. profana illic omnia quae apud nos sacra, rursum concessa apud illos quae nobis incesta. effigiem animalis, quo monstrante errorem sitimque depulerant, penetrali sacravere, caeso ariete velut in contumeliam Hammonis; bos quoque immolatur, quoniam Aegyptii Apin colunt. sue abstinent memoria cladis, quod ipsos scabies quondam turpaverat, cui id animal obnoxium. longam olim famem crebris adhuc ieiuniis fatentur, et raptarum frugum argumentum panis Iudaicus nullo fermento detinetur. septimo die otium placuisse ferunt, quia is finem laborum tulerit; dein blandiente inertia septimum quoque annum ignaviae datum. alii honorem eum Saturno haberi, seu principia religionis tradentibus Idaeis, quos cum Saturno pulsos et conditores gentis accepimus, seu quod de septem sideribus, quis *res* mortales reguntur altissimo orbe et praecipua potentia stella Saturni feratur ac pleraque caelestium vim suam et cursus septenos per numeros compleant.

Various details of Jewish religion and custom.

V. Hi ritus quoquo modo inducti antiquitate defen- **5**

duntur: cetera instituta, sinistra foeda, pravitate valuere. nam pessimus quisque spretis religionibus patriis tributa et stipes illuc congerebant, unde auctae Iudaeorum res, et quia apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium. separati epulis, discreti cubilibus, proiectissima ad libidinem gens, alienarum concubitu abstinent; inter se nihil inlicitum. circumcidere genitalia instituerunt, ut diversitate noscantur. transgressi in morem eorum idem usurpant, nec quicquam prius inbuuntur quam contemnere deos, exuere patriam, parentes liberos fratres vilia habere. augendae tamen multitudini consulitur; nam et necare quemquam ex agnatis nefas, animosque proelio aut suppliciis peremptorum aeternos putant: hinc generandi amor et moriendi contemptus. corpora condere quam cremare e more Aegyptio, eademque cura et de infernis persuasio, caelestium contra. Aegyptii pleraque animalia effigiesque compositas venerantur, Iudaei mente sola unumque numen intellegunt: profanos, qui deum imagines mortalibus materiis in species hominum effingant; summum illud et aeternum neque imitabile neque interiturum. igitur nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sistunt; non regibus haec adulatio, non Caesaribus honor. sed quia sacerdotes eorum tibia tympanisque concinebant, hedera vinciebantur vitisque aurea *in* templo reperta, Liberum patrem coli, domitorem Orientis, quidam arbitrati sunt, nequaquam congruentibus institutis. quippe Liber festos laetosque ritus posuit, Iudaeorum mos absurdus sordidusque.

VI. Terra finesque qua ad Orientem vergunt 6
Arabia terminantur, a meridie Aegyptus obiacet, ab occasu Phoenices et mare, septentrionem e latere Suriae longe prospectant. corpora hominum salubria et ferentia laborum. rari imbres, uber solum: fruges nostrum ad morem praeterque eas balsamum et palmae. palmetis proceritas et decor, balsamum modica arbor: ut quisque ramus intumuit, si vim ferri adhibeas, pavent venae; fragmine lapidis aut testa aperiuntur; umor in usu medentium est. praecipuum montium Libanum erigit, mirum dictu, tantos inter ardores opacum fidumque nivibus; idem amnem Iordanen alit funditque. nec Iordanes pelago accipitur, sed unum atque alterum lacum integer perfluit, tertio retinetur. lacus inmenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer, neque vento inpellitur neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres patitur. inertes undae superiacta ut solido ferunt; periti imperitique nandi perinde attolluntur. certo anni bitumen egerit, cuius legendi usum, ut ceteras artes, experientia docuit. ater suapte natura liquor et sparso aceto concretus innatat; hunc manu captum, quibus ea cura, in summa navis trahunt: inde nullo iuvante influit oneratque, donec abscindas. nec abscindere aere ferrove possis: fugit cruorem vestemque infectam sanguine, quo feminae per menses exsolvuntur. sic veteres auctores, sed gnari locorum tradunt undantes bitumine moles pelli manuque trahi ad litus, mox ubi vapore terrae, vi solis inaruerint, securibus cuneisque ut trabes aut saxa discindi.

Judaea described.

The Dead Sea.

7 VII. Haud procul inde campi, quos ferunt olim uberes magnisque urbibus habitatos fulminum iactu arsisse; et manere vestigia, terramque ipsam, specie torridam, vim frugiferam perdidisse. nam cuncta sponte edita aut manu sata, sive herba tenus aut flore seu solidam in speciem adolevere, atra et inania velut in cinerem vanescunt. ego sicut inclutas quondam urbes igne caelesti flagrasse concesserim, ita halitu lacus infici terram, corrumpi superfusum spiritum, eoque fetus segetum et autumni putrescere reor, solo caeloque iuxta gravi. at Belus amnis Iudaico mari inlabitur, circa cuius os lectae harenae admixto nitro in vitrum excocuntur. modicum id litus et egerentibus inexhaustum.

8 VIII. Magna pars Iudaeae vicis dispergitur, habent et oppida: Hierosolyma genti caput. illic inmensae opulentiae templum, et primis munimentis urbs, dein regia, templum intimis clausum.

History of Judaea.

ad fores tantum Iudaeo aditus, limine praeter sacerdotes arcebantur. dum Assyrios penes Medosque et Persas Oriens fuit, despectissima pars servientium: postquam Macedones praepolluere, rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Graecorum dare adnisus, quo minus taeterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est; nam ea tempestate Arsaces desciverat. tum Iudaei Macedonibus invalidis, Parthis nondum adultis (et Romani procul erant), sibi ipsi reges inposuere:

The Hasmonean Kings.

qui mobilitate vulgi expulsi, resumpta per arma dominatione fugas civium, urbium eversiones, fratrum coniugum parentum neces

aliaque solita regibus ausi superstitionem fovebant, quia honor sacerdotii firmamentum potentiae adsumebatur.

IX. Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Iudaeos 9
domuit templumque iure victoriae ingressus est: inde vulgatum nulla intus deum effigie vacuam sedem et inania arcana. muri Hierosolymorum diruti, delubrum mansit. mox civili inter nos bello, postquam in dicionem M. Antonii provinciae cesserant, rex Parthorum Pacorus Iudaea potitus interfectusque a P. Ventidio, et Parthi trans Euphraten redacti: Iudaeos C. Sosius subegit. regnum ab Antonio Herodi datum victor Augustus auxit. post mortem Herodis, nihil exspectato Caesare, Simo quidam regium nomen invaserat. is a Quintilio Varo optinente Suriam punitus, et gentem coërcitam liberi Herodis tripertito rexere. sub Tiberio quies. dein iussi a Gaio Caesare effigiem eius in templo locare arma potius sumpsere, quem motum Caesaris mors diremit. Claudius, defunctis regibus aut ad modicum redactis, Iudaeam provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permisit, e quibus Antonius Felix per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem ius regium servili ingenio exercuit, Drusilla Cleopatrae et Antoniae nepte in matrimonium accepta, ut eiusdem Antonii Felix progener, Claudius nepos esset.

Judaea a protected kingdom,

then a Roman province.

X. Duravit tamen patientia Iudaeis usque ad 10
Gessium Florum procuratorem: sub eo bellum ortum. et comprimere coeptantem Cestium Gallum Suriae legatum varia proelia ac saepius adversa excepere.

Outbreak of the war.

qui ubi fato aut taedio occidit, missu Neronis Vespasianus fortuna famaque et egregiis ministris intra duas aestates cuncta camporum omnesque praeter Hierosolyma urbes victore exercitu tenebat. proximus annus civili bello intentus quantum ad Iudaeos per otium transiit, pace per Italiam parta et externae curae rediere: augebat iras, quod soli Iudaei non cessissent; simul manere apud exercitus Titum ad omnes principatus novi eventus casusve utile videbatur.

Beginning of the siege of Jerusalem.

11 XI. Igitur castris, uti diximus, ante moenia Hierosolymorum positis instructas legiones ostentavit: Iudaei sub ipsos muros struxere aciem, rebus secundis longius ausuri et, si pellerentur, parato perfugio. missus in eos eques cum expeditis cohortibus ambigue certavit; mox cessere hostes et sequentibus diebus crebra pro portis proelia serebant, donec adsiduis damnis intra moenia pellerentur. Romani ad obpugnandum versi; neque enim dignum videbatur famem hostium opperiri, poscebantque pericula, pars virtute, multi ferocia et cupidine praemiorum. ipsi Tito Roma et opes voluptatesque ante oculos, ac ni statim Hierosolyma conciderent, morari videbantur. sed urbem arduam situ opera molesque firmaverant, quis vel plana satis munirentur. nam duos colles in inmensum editos claudebant muri per artem obliqui aut introrsus sinuati, ut latera obpugnantium ad ictus patescerent. extrema rupis abrupta, et turres, ubi mons iuvisset, in sexagenos pedes, inter devexa in centenos vicenosque

Description of Jerusalem

attollebantur, mira specie ac procul intuentibus pares. alia intus moenia regiae circumiecta, conspicuoque fastigio turris Antonia, in honorem M. Antonii ab Herode appellata.

XII. Templum in modum arcis propriique muri, **12** labore et opere ante alios; ipsae porticus, quis templum ambibatur, egregium propugnaculum. fons perennis aquae, cavati sub terra montes et piscinae cisternaeque servandis imbribus. providerant conditores ex diversitate morum crebra bella: inde cuncta quamvis adversus longum obsidium; et a Pompeio expugnatis metus atque usus pleraque monstravere. atque per avaritiam Claudianorum temporum empto iure muniendi struxere muros in pace tamquam ad bellum, magna conluvies et ceterarum urbium clade aucti; nam pervicacissimus quisque illuc perfugerat eoque seditiosius agebant. tres duces, totidem exercitus: extrema et latissima moenium Simo, mediam urbem Ioannes, [quem et Bargioram vocabant], templum Eleazarus firmaverat. multitudine et armis Ioannes ac Simo, Eleazarus loco pollebat: sed proelia dolus incendia inter ipsos, et magna vis frumenti ambusta. mox Ioannes, missis per speciem sacrificandi qui Eleazarum manumque eius obtruncarent, templo potitur. ita in duas factiones civitas discessit, donec propinquantibus Romanis bellum externum concordiam pareret.

and the Temple.

The Jewish leaders.

XIII. Evenerant prodigia, quae neque hostiis **13** neque votis piare fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa. visae per caelum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma et subito nubium igne conlucere

templum. apertae repente delubri fores et audita maior humana vox, excedere deos; simul ingens motus excedentium. quae pauci in metum trahebant: pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis sacerdotum litteris contineri, eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens profectique Iudaea rerum poterentur. quae ambages Vespasianum ac Titum praedixerat, sed vulgus more humanae cupidinis sibi tantam fatorum magnitudinem interpretati ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur. multitudinem obsessorum omnis aetatis, virile ac muliebre secus, sescenta milia fuisse accepimus: arma cunctis, qui ferre possent, et plures quam pro numero audebant. obstinatio viris feminisque par; ac si transferre sedes cogerentur, maior vitae metus quam mortis. hanc adversus urbem gentemque Caesar Titus, quando inpetus et subita belli locus abnueret, aggeribus vineisque certare statuit: dividuntur legionibus munia et quies proeliorum fuit, donec cuncta expugnandis urbibus reperta apud veteres aut novis ingeniis struerentur.

Signs and wonders in the city.

14 XIV. At Civilis post malam in Treveris pugnam reparato per Germaniam exercitu apud Vetera castra consedit, tutus loco, et ut memoria prosperarum illic rerum augescerent barbarorum animi. secutus est eodem Cerialis, duplicatis copiis adventu secundae et sextae et quartae decumae legionum; cohortesque et alae iam pridem accitae post victoriam properaverant. neuter ducum cunctator, sed arcebat latitudo camporum suopte ingenio umentium; addiderat Civilis obliquam in Rhenum molem, cuius obiectu revolutus

Civilis and Cerialis on the Rhine.

amnis adiacentibus superfunderetur. ea loci forma, incertis vadis subdola et nobis adversa: quippe miles Romanus armis gravis et nandi pavidus, Germanos fluminibus suetos levitas armorum et proceritas corporum attollit.

XV. Igitur lacessentibus Batavis ferocissimo cuique 15 nostrorum coeptum certamen, deinde orta trepidatio. cum praealtis paludibus arma equi haurirentur. Germani notis vadis persultabant, omissa plerumque fronte latera ac terga circumvenientes. neque ut in pedestri acie comminus certabatur, sed tamquam navali pugna, vagi inter undas aut, si quid stabile occurrebat, totis illuc corporibus nitentes, vulnerati cum integris, periti nandi cum ignaris in mutuam perniciem inplicabantur. minor tamen quam pro tumultu caedes, quia non ausi egredi paludem Germani in castra rediere. eius proelii eventus utrumque ducem diversis animi motibus ad maturandum summae rei discrimen erexit. Civilis instare fortunae, Cerialis abolere ignominiam: Germani prosperis feroces, Romanos pudor excitaverat. nox apud barbaros cantu aut clamore, nostris per iram et minas acta.

Slight success of the Germans.

XVI. Postera luce Cerialis equite et auxiliariis cohortibus frontem explet, in secunda acie legiones locatae, dux sibi delectos retinuerat ad inprovisa. Civilis haud porrecto agmine, sed cuneis adstitit: Batavi Cugernique in dextro, laeva ac propiora flumini Transrhenani tenuere. exhortatio ducum non more contionis apud universos, sed ut quosque suorum 16

Addresses of Cerialis and Civilis to their troops.

advehebantur. Cerialis veterem Romani nominis gloriam, antiquas recentesque victorias; ut perfidum ignavum victum hostem in aeternum excinderent, ultione magis quam proelio opus esse. pauciores nuper cum pluribus certasse, ac tamen fusos Germanos, quod roboris fuerit: superesse qui fugam animis, qui vulnera tergo ferant. proprios inde stimulos legionibus admovebat, domitores Britanniae quartadecumanos appellans; principem Galbam sextae legionis auctoritate factum; illa primum acie secundanos nova signa novamque aquilam dicaturos. hinc praevectus ad Germanicum exercitum manus tendebat, ut suam ripam, sua castra sanguine hostium reciperarent. alacrior omnium clamor, quis vel ex longa pace proelii cupido vel fessis bello pacis amor, praemiaque et quies in posterum sperabantur.

17 XVII. Nec Civilis silens instruxit aciem, locum pugnae testem virtutis ciens: stare Germanos Batavosque super vestigia gloriae, cineres ossaque legionum calcantes. quocumque oculos Romanus intenderet, captivitatem clademque et dira omnia obversari. ne terrerentur vario Treverici proelii eventu: suam illic victoriam Germanis obstitisse, dum omissis telis praeda manus impediunt: sed cuncta mox prospera et hosti contraria evenisse. quae provideri astu ducis oportuerit, providisse, campos madentes et ipsis gnaros, paludes hostibus noxias. Rhenum et Germaniae deos in adspectu: quorum numine capesserent pugnam, coniugum parentum patriae memores: illum diem aut gloriosissimum inter maiores aut ignominiosum apud posteros fore. ubi sono armorum

tripudiisque (ita illis mos) adprobata sunt dicta, saxis glandibusque et ceteris missilibus proelium incipitur, neque nostro milite paludem ingrediente et Germanis, ut elicerent, lacessentibus.

XVIII. Absumptis quae iaciuntur et ardescente 18
pugna procursum ab hoste infestius: inmensis corporibus et praelongis hastis fluitantem labantemque militem eminus fodiebant; simul e mole, quam eductam in Rhenum rettulimus, Bructerorum cuneus tranatavit. turbata ibi res et pellebatur sociarum cohortium acies, cum legiones pugnam excipiunt suppressaque hostium ferocia proelium aequatur. inter quae perfuga Batavus adiit Cerialem, terga hostium promittens, si extremo paludis eques inmitteretur: solidum illa et Cugernos, quibus custodia obvenisset, parum intentos. duae alae cum perfuga missae incauto hosti circumfunduntur. quod ubi clamore cognitum, legiones a fronte incubuere, pulsique Germani Rhenum fuga petebant. debellatum eo die foret, si Romana classis sequi maturasset: ne eques quidem institit, repente fusis imbribus et propinqua nocte.

The Germans routed.

XIX. Postera die quartadecuma legio in superiorem 19
provinciam Gallo Annio missa: Cerialis exercitum decuma ex Hispania legio supplevit: Civili Chaucorum auxilia venere. non tamen ausus oppidum Batavorum armis tueri, raptis quae ferri poterant, ceteris iniecto igni, in insulam concessit, gnarus deesse naves efficiendo ponti, neque exercitum Romanum aliter transmissurum: quin et diruit molem a Druso Ger-

Civilis occupies the insula Batavorum.

manico factam Rhenumque prono alveo in Galliam ruentem, disiectis quae morabantur, effudit. sic velut abacto amne tenuis alveus insulam inter Germanosque continentium terrarum speciem fecerat. transiere Rhenum Tutor quoque et Classicus et centum tredecim Treverorum senatores, in quis fuit Alpinius Montanus, quem a Primo Antonio missum in Gallias superius memoravimus. comitabatur eum frater D. Alpinius; simul ceteri miseratione ac donis auxilia concibant inter gentes periculorum avidas.

He attacks various Roman posts

20 XX. Tantumque belli superfuit, ut praesidia cohortium alarum legionum uno die Civilis quadripertito invaserit, decumam legionem Arenaci, secundam Batavoduri, et Grinnes Vadamque, cohortium alarumque castra, ita divisis copiis, ut ipse et Verax, sorore eius genitus, Classicusque ac Tutor suam quisque manum traherent, nec omnia patrandi fiducia, sed multa ausis aliqua in parte fortunam adfore: simul Cerialem neque satis cautum et pluribus nuntiis huc illuc cursantem posse medio intercipi. quibus obvenerant castra decumanorum, obpugnationem legionis arduam rati egressum militem et caedendis materiis operatum turbavere, occiso praefecto castrorum et quinque primoribus centurionum paucisque militibus: ceteri se munimentis defenderant. interim Germanorum manus Batavoduri interrumpere inchoatum pontem nitebantur: ambiguum proelium nox diremit.

21 XXI. Plus discriminis apud Grinnes Vadamque. Vadam Civilis, Grinnes Classicus obpugnabant: nec sisti poterant interfecto fortissimo quoque, in quis

Briganticus praefectus alae ceciderat, quem fidum Romanis et Civili avunculo infensum diximus. sed ubi Cerialis cum delecta equitum manu subvenit, versa fortuna praecipites Germani in amnem aguntur. Civilis dum fugientes retentat, adgnitus petitusque telis relicto equo tranatavit; idem Veraci effugium: Tutorem Classicumque adpulsae lintres transvexere. ne tum quidem Romana classis pugnae adfuit, ut iussum erat, sed obstitit formido et remiges per alia militae munia dispersi. sane Cerialis parum temporis ad exsequenda imperia dabat, subitus consiliis et eventu clarus: aderat fortuna, etiam ubi artes defuissent; hinc ipsi exercituique minor cura disciplinae. et paucos post dies, quamquam periculum captivitatis evasisset, infamiam non vitavit.

but without success.

XXII. Profectus Novaesium Bonnamque ad visenda castra, quae hiematuris legionibus erigebantur, navibus remeabat disiecto agmine, incuriosis vigiliis. animadversum id Germanis et insidias conposuere: electa nox atra nubibus, et prono amne rapti nullo prohibente vallum ineunt. prima caedes astu adiuta: incisis tabernaculorum funibus suismet tentoriis coopertos trucidabant. aliud agmen turbare classem, inicere vincla, trahere puppis; utque ad fallendum silentio, ita coepta caede, quo plus terroris adderent, cuncta clamoribus miscebant. Romani vulneribus exciti quaerunt arma, ruunt per vias, pauci ornatu militari, plerique circum brachia torta veste et strictis mucronibus. dux semisomnus ac prope intectus errore hos 22

Capture of Roman ships by the Germans.

tium servatur: namque praetoriam navem vexillo insignem, illic ducem rati, abripiunt. Cerialis alibi noctem egerat, ut plerique credidere, ob stuprum Claudiae Sacratae mulieris Ubiae. vigiles flagitium suum ducis dedecore excusabant, tamquam iussi silere, ne quietem eius turbarent; ita intermisso signo et vocibus se quoque in somnum lapsos. multa luce revecti hostes captivis navibus, praetoriam triremem flumine Lupia donum Velaedae traxere.

Skirmish between the flotillas on the Rhine.

23 XXIII. Civilem cupido incessit navalem aciem ostentandi: complet quod biremium quaeque simplici ordine agebantur; adiecta ingens lintrium vis tricenos quadragenosque * * armamenta Liburnicis solita; et simul captae * * lintres sagulis versicoloribus haud indecore pro velis iuvabantur. spatium velut aequoris electum, quo Mosae fluminis os amnem Rhenum Oceano adfundit. causa instruendae classis super insitam genti vanitatem, ut eo terrore commeatus Gallia adventantes interciperentur. Cerialis miraculo magis quam metu derexit classem, numero inparem, usu remigum, gubernatorum arte, navium magnitudine potiorem. his flumen secundum, illi vento agebantur: sic praevecti temptato levium telorum iactu dirimuntur. Civilis nihil ultra ausus trans Rhenum concessit: Cerialis insulam Batavorum hostiliter populatus agros villasque Civilis intactas nota arte ducum sinebat, cum interim flexu autumni et crebris per aequinoctium imbribus superfusus amnis palustrem humilemque insulam in faciem stagni opplevit. nec classis aut commeatus aderant, castraque in plano sita vi fluminis differebantur.

XXIV. Potuisse tunc opprimi legiones et voluisse 24
Germanos, sed dolo a se flexos inputavit Civilis; neque abhorret vero, quando paucis post diebus deditio insecuta est. nam Cerialis per occultos nuntios Batavis pacem, Civili veniam ostentans, Velaedam propinquosque monebat fortunam belli, tot cladibus adversam, opportuno erga populum Romanum merito mutare: caesos Treveros, receptos Ubios, ereptam Batavis patriam; neque aliud Civilis amicitia partum quam vulnera fugas luctus. exulem eum et extorrem recipientibus oneri, et satis peccavisse, quod totiens Rhenum transcenderint. si quid ultra moliantur, inde iniuriam et culpam, hinc ultionem et deos fore.

Cerialis proposes terms of peace.

XXV. Miscebantur minis promissa; et concussa 25
Transrhenanorum fide inter Batavos quoque sermones orti: non prorogandam ultra ruinam, nec posse ab una natione totius orbis servitium depelli. quid profectum caede et incendiis legionum, nisi ut plures validioresque accirentur? si Vespasiano bellum navaverint, Vespasianum rerum potiri: sin populum Romanum armis vocent, quotam partem generis humani Batavos esse? respicerent Raetos Noricosque et ceterorum onera sociorum: sibi non tributa, sed virtutem et viros indici. proximum id libertati; et si dominorum electio sit, honestius principes Romanorum quam Germanorum feminas tolerari. haec vulgus, proceres atrociora: Civilis rabie semet in arma trusos; illum domesticis malis excidium gentis ob-

The Batavians are disposed to give up the war.

posuisse. tunc infensos Batavis deos, cum obsiderentur legiones, interficerentur legati, bellum uni necessarium, ferale ipsis sumeretur. ventum ad extrema, ni resipiscere incipiant et noxii capitis poena paenitentiam fateantur.

Civilis prepares to make his peace with Rome.

26 XXVI. Non fefellit Civilem ea inclinatio et praevenire statuit, super taedium malorum etiam spe vitae, quae plerumque magnos animos infringit. petito conloquio scinditur Nabaliae fluminis pons, in cuius abrupta progressi duces, et Civilis ita coepit: 'si apud Vitellianum legatum defenderer, neque facto meo venia neque dictis fides debebatur; cuncta inter nos inimica: hostilia ab illo coepta, a me aucta erant: erga Vespasianum vetus mihi observantia, et cum privatus esset, amici vocabamur. hoc Primo Antonio notum, cuius epistulis ad bellum actus sum, ne Germanicae legiones et Gallica iuventus Alpes transcenderent. quae Antonius epistulis, Hordeonius Flaccus praesens monebat: arma in Germania movi, quae Mucianus in Suria, Aponius in Moesia, Flavianus in Pannonia * * *

NOTES.

LIBER III.

I.

Date : towards the end of 69 A.D. (probably October).

2. **Poetovionem** : Petau, in Styria, on the Drave.

3. **tertiae decumae** : this legion, originally one of Otho's, had been employed in public works after the battle of Bedriacum (ii. 67), then sent into winter-quarters in Pannonia, ii. 86.

4. **Pannoniae Alpes**, *sc.* the passes over the Julian and Carnic Alps. Al. Pannonicas.

8. **Germanicarum legionum**, the main strength of Vitellius' army at Bedriacum, i. 61, ii. 57.

9. **advenisse mox** : the British troops (8000 vexillarii, ii. 57, 100), had arrived at Rome soon after Vitellius. Heräus reads *modo* : others *adventura mox*.

10, 1. **pulsarum nuper legionum** : the only legions present of those which had fought at Bedriacum were the xiii. Gemina, vii. Galbiana, xi. Claudia.

14. **superesse Vespasiano**, *sc.* after Mucianus and the legions had left him for Italy. Muc. was now on his way across from Byzantium, ii. 83.

14. **classes** : there were stations off the Syrian and Egyptian coasts ; also we hear of a *classis e Ponto*, ii. 83.

II.

1. **Antonius Primus** : *v.* note on ii. 86.

2. **concitator** : M has *conciator* : Orelli reads *concitor.*

5. **procinctu**, 'readiness for battle.'

7. **antea egerint.** M has *ante se egerint.* But Tac. does not elsewhere use *se agere*; always *agere* alone. Cp. i. 9, *innocentius egerunt*

9. **valetudinibus**: cp. *A.* vi. 50 *valetudines principis.*

11. **meditatione belli,** 'preparation for war.' Cp. iv. 26, *meditamenta belli.*

14. **ultro**: *v.* note on i. 7.

15. **duas classes,** at Misenum and Ravenna. Neither had as yet joined Vespasian.

Illyricum mare: the Vitellians could cross the Adriatic, get round the mountains, and attack the base of Antonius' communications.

19. **deceptae**: *v.* the description of the battle of Bedriacum, ii. 42.

20. **Moesici**: ii. 32, 44; *integras* means that they had not yet fought.

24. **quamquam,** with an adjective or participle, like καίπερ, is commonly found in Tac., but only once in Cicero. Cp. i. 83, *quamquam turbidis rebus.*

25. **disiectam Vit. aciem**: ii. 41.

29. **auctor consilii ero,** *sc.* I will put the plan in operation. Some read *actor*, which makes good sense, but has no MSS. authority.

30. **in integro**: *sc.* who have not committed yourselves as I have, and may still make your peace with Vitellius.

31, 2. **reseratam Italiam**: cp. ii. 17, *aperuerat Italiam.*

III.

4. **vulgus et ceteri**: *et* is explanatory: cp. the same expression i. 25, and 5 *plebem et vim equitum.*

7. **epistulis**: ii. 82. A single letter is meant; for the pl., cp. i. 67.

9, 10. **descendisse in causam**: on the analogy of *descendere in forum, in campum,* etc. So *descendere ad accusandum* and similar phrases are found constantly in Cicero.

10. **gravior** is the MS. reading, but in the sense 'had more weight with' would naturally be followed by some word like *auctor*; hence Orelli reads *gratior*

IV.

1, 3. **Fuscus and Flavianus** : ii. 86. Orelli reads *T. Ampius Flavianus.*

5. **cunctantior** : *cunctatior,* M ; *cunctator* Heräus.

6. **tamquam** : *v.* on i. 8.

8. **quaesisse credebatur** : cp. 11 *Saturninus scripsisse credebatur.*

10. **legati** : a legatus with consular rank, governor of an imperial province.

11. **impulerat** : the infin. after *impellere* is a poetical construction. Cp. *Aen.* ii. 55, *impulerat ferro Argolicas foedare latebras.*

13, 4. **cum maxime** : *v.* i. 29.

V.

1. **transmittere bellum** : cp. ii. 17. *Bellum* is not in M.

2. **inpune ... foret** : the adverb is used as a predicate ; cp. *frustra esse.*

2, 3. **Apon. Saturninus**, governor of Moesia ; i. 79, ii. 96.

5. **Sarmatarum Iazugum**, said to have been settled between Danube and Theiss. The Iazyges are of course a subdivision of the Sarmatae.

8. **remissum.** Cp. *A.* i. 8, *remisit Caesar* (sc. declined the offer) *adroganti moderatione.*

8, 9. **externa molirentur** probably means 'should involve us in a foreign war.' Orelli interprets it somewhat differently : *ne assuefierent ... πολυπραγμονεῖν in rebus ad suam civitatem nihil pertinentibus.*

9. **ex diverso** = *ex hoste.* Cp. ii. 75, *paratum ex diverso praemium.*

10. **Sido atque Italicus.** Sido was nephew of Vannius, a prince established by Tiberius, A.D. 19, on the left bank of the Danube, between the Marus and the Cusus. Sido and his brother expelled Vannius and divided his kingdom. *A.* xii. 29, 30. Italicus may perhaps have been a nephew of Sido : he is not to be confused with the Cheruscan of the same name, mentioned *A.* xi. 16.

12. **fidei quam iussorum patientior**: *sc.* they were loyal but would not brook command. M has *fidei commissior patientior*; hence Orelli reads *fidei commissae patientior.*

14. **procurator**: *v.* i. 2. Certain of the small imperial provinces (*e.g.* Judaea) were administered by the imperial finance agent.

15. **Sext. Felix**: iv. 70.

15. **Auriana**, proved by a military 'diploma' to be identical with *ala prima Hispanorum*; according to Heräus it was in Raetia, A.D. 107.

17. **Aeni**, the Inn.

19. **alibi**: *sc.* in Italy.

VI.

Antonius advances on the roads through Opitergium, Patavium, and Ateste; thence he makes an isolated attack on a body of Vitellians at Forum Allieni. After this he continues his march on the main road to Verona, which becomes his headquarters. Caecina with the main body of Vitellius' army is at Hostilia till ch. 14.

1. **vexillarios**: *v.* i. 31.

3. **Varus**: *A.* xiii. 9. He served under Corbulo against the Parthians.

7. **primum pilum**; rank of senior centurion (commander of the first centuria) in a legion or praetorian cohort.

8. **in perniciem vertere**: iv. 11. 68. Perhaps Varus may have been disgraced through the influence of Domitian's wife, Domitia, a daughter of Corbulo.

12. **classis Rav. conatus**: M has simply *classis Ravennatis*; hence Orelli, *classem Ravennatem.*

15. **Sebosianae**, called after Sebosus who raised the corps; cp. *ala Auriana, ala Petriana.*

18. **mutandam fidem**: ii. 101.

VII.

1. **principia belli**: *sc.* the Flavians scored the first success. The phrase is on the analogy of *litem dare secundum aliquem*; cp. *A.* iv. 43, *ita secundum Messenios datum.* Heräus reads *vulgata victoriae legiones*, etc., and makes *principia—data*, the last sentence of ch. 6.

3. **legato**, *legionis.*

6. **adductius** = *severius.* He was too much of a martinet for a civil war.

8. **interpretatione gloriaque**, 'from the interpretation which their desire for glory (desire to obtain credit for their own side) put upon it.' *Gloria* is used here (as often in Cicero) in the sense of *gloriae cupido;* cp. *A.* i. 8, *iactantia gloriaque ad posteros.*

10. **recoli** = *recolendi causa reponi.*

VIII.

1. **sedes**, 'base of operations.'

quaesitum, 'discussed.'

bello. Cic. would say *belli;* cp. i. 67, *initium bello;* i. 22, *Othoni comes.*

5. **in rem famamque**, 'profitable and creditable.' Cp. *A.* iv. 33, *in rem fuerit.*

8. **reputantibus**: the dative is equivalent to *cum reputarent.* Cp. the use of the same word ii. 50.

9. **pretium**: cp. *operae pretium;* and 31, *ubi pretium caedis erat.*

10. **interiectus** = *obvius*, 'barring the way.'

11. **pervium.** Cp. Liv. xxx. 10.

illa = *illac.*

Iulias Alpes: not only the Brenner Pass, but the more eastern passes leading towards Venice from the valley of the Upper Drave.

13. **ignara**, 'unknown,' so Sallust and Virgil; cp. *A.* xi. 32.

15. **claustra annonae**: Alexandria was the 'key of the Roman market.'

16. **provinciarum**: Asia, Syria, Egypt.

19. **sine luctu victoriam**: Tac. often uses adverbial phrases for attributive adjectives (*sine sacris hereditas* is good Republican Latin, but the practice is more common in the silver age): cp. *e.g.* iv. 8, *sine fine dominatio* = an endless tyranny; and 5, *impune foret.*

IX.

3. **Hostiliam** (Ostiglia), S.E. of Mantua, on the right bank of the Po.

4. **Tartari**: connected with the Po on the right and the Adige on the left by canals called the *fossae Philistinae.*

7. **duae legiones**: vii. *Galbiana,* xiii. *Gemina.*

10. **conscivissent**: cp. Livy xxxiii. 48, *fugam conscisse,* but earlier writers generally use *sibi* or some other dative of person after it.

11. **tempora,** καιροί: so 40, *agendi tempora.*

15. **tribunus**: the legatus Tettius Julianus having fled, ii. 85. Valerius Messalla is several times mentioned as one of the historians of the period; 25, 28.

16. **et qui**: Tacitus always uses the subjunctive where a relative clause as here is co-ordinated with an attributive adjective or participle; *v.* i. 10, note.

17. **artes bonas,** generally 'good qualities,' as here: cp. 86, iv. 1. In i. 17 *bonae artes* = 'honourable means.'

21. **vulgari,** 'merely formal,' 'unemphatic.' Cf. Cic. *ad Fam.* i. 3, *commendatio non vulgaris,* 'a special recommendation.'

27. **de exitu**: Halm's correction: although *de exercitu,* the reading of M, might very well stand, as it answers Caecina's praise of the German legions.

ut inimici praesumpsere: *sc.* they ventured even now (*prae-*) to express hostility to Vitellius. The qualifying *inimici* in a manner supplies the want of an object after *praesumpsere;* naturally some word such as *probra* would follow.

29, 30. **pro contione**: discipline must indeed have been relaxed when generals had thus to take the men into their confidence; cp. iv. 24, where letters are similarly read.

X.

10. The Flavian army consists of five legions:—vii. Galbiana, xiii. Gemina, vii. Claudiana, iii. viii.; the Vitellian, of eight: xxi. Rapax, and i. Italica, at Cremona; i. Germanica, iv., v., xv., xvi., xxii., with *vexillarii* of ii., ix., xx., as yet at Hostilia.

5. **cesserat**, 'had fallen.'

9, 10. **turbine quodam**, 'a wild impulse.'

10. **propinquam Vit.**; cp. 4.

11. **interceptorem ... clamitabant**: it is the tendency of Latin to incorporate the words of an exclamation in the construction of the sentence. Cp. Ov. *Met.* 3. 244, *Actaeona clamant*; Cic. *Phil.* 2. 28, *Ciceronem exclamavit*, 'he called out "Cicero."'

13. **plerumque**, 'often': cp. 85.

19. **mulcendique**: *que*, not *et*, because the two principal things are *facundia* and *auctoritas*. *Artes* is only an explanatory adjunct to *facundia*.

20. **ubi crudescere**: *ubi* is only used with the historic infinitive in Tacitus, when also combined, as here, with a finite verb. Cp. *A.* ii. 4, *ubi minitari Artabanus et ... bellum adversus Parthos sumendum erat.*

21. **manus**, 'actual violence.' Cp. *A.* xiv. 62, *nec manu aut telo opus.*

22. **ludibrium**, 'the comedy': cp. the same device, i. 45.

27. **ciens** = *appellans*: cp. 24, *principes auctoresque belli ciebat.*

28. **signa et bellorum deos.** On the shafts of the standards were medallions bearing heads of various deities; *A.* ii. 17, *propria legionum numina.*

30. **fatisceret**, 'wore itself out.'

33. **literis**: *sc.* Flavianus was summoned to Vespasian's headquarters.

XI.

1. **tabe**: cp. i. 26, *infecit ea tabes legionum mentes.*

4. **medio diei**: cp. ii. 53, *medio temporis*; *A.* ii. 21, *sero diei.*

6. **procacitatis et petulantiae**: the same qualities are joined in 32. Perhaps 'ribald insolence' will translate the two substantives.

10. **velut**: Cicero would say *velut si.*

11. **gaudebant**, with infinitive: a poetical construction.

11, 2. **in quibus devertebatur** = *in quibus deverticulum habebat*: generally *deverti* is followed by *in* with accusative.

17. **digressu**: for the abl. cp. 10, *adventu.*

19. **fuit**, *ἐγένετο*, 'came into his hands.'

XII.

The narrative is taken up at the point where it was dropped at the end of Book II.

8. **in principia**: *v.* note on i. 48, ii. 93.

10. **trierarchi**, in the Roman fleet captains of the larger; *navarchi*, captains of the smaller vessels.

11. **paucis resistentium**: *v.* note on *pauci militarium virorum*, 73.

16. **Atriam**, on the Tartarus, between the mouths of the Po and Adige. Pliny says that the Adriatic sea was called after it.

18. **Caesaris liberti**: *v.* 1. 56, note. For the sentiment of *is quoque*, cp. 1. 76. *Neronis libertus* (*nam et hi malis temporibus partem se reipublicae faciunt*).

XIII.

1, 2. **primores centurionum**, *sc. centuriones primorum ordinum*, the ten senior centurions among the twenty of the first rank; cp. ii. 89. There were 60 centurions in the legion, 20 in each line.

3. **munia**, the word always elsewhere used by Tac. to express 'duties.' M has *munera*. Cp. 20, 59.

3. **secretum castrorum adfectans** (*secretorum* M). Heräus interprets 'desiring to seize a moment when the camp was empty'; and compares i. 10 in *secretum Asiae sepositus.* Orelli, 'intending to hold a secret council of war.' The first rendering seems best.

6. **in arto commeatum**, 'the cramped state of his communications'; more especially food supplies; cp. *A.* iv. 32, *nobis in arto et inglorius labor.*

7. **in deterius**: *ταπεινῶν τὰ Οὐιτελλίου πράγματα*, Josephus, B. I. i. 4; cp. 38 *cetera in maius.*

12. **in fama,** 'reported.' According to Hegesippus, iv. 30, the soldiers did not mutiny till next day.

13. **praescriptum** : ii. 85 *vexillis nomen Vitelli praeferentibus.*

18. **ex diverso** : cp. 5.

14, 15. **vastum silentium,** 'dreary silence,' cp. *A.* iii. 4, *dies ... per silentium vastus.*

15. **cuncta simul erumpunt** : Orelli makes *erumpunt* transitive, the subject being *milites.* Cp. Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 3, *ne in me stomachum erumpant* (vent their anger).

19, 20. **primanos quartadecumanosque** : i. Adjutrix in Spain (ii. 43, 67) xiv. in Britain (ii. 43, 66).

21. **ut tot armatorum** : M *ut armatorum.* According to the punctuation in the text, this is a separate exclamation; cp. Cic. *Cat.* i. 22, *tu ut unquam te corrigas.* Orelli regards it as a final sentence depending on the preceding: 'they had routed their enemies, only to be handed over,' etc.

22. **exuli Antonio** : ii. 86.

23. **unius classis accessionem fore,** 'would follow in the wake of a single fleet. Notice the feeling of legionaries towards *classiarii.* *Additamentum* is used in the *Pro Sestio* (67) in the same rather contemptuous sense as *accessio.*

25. **etiam auferre militem** : *etiam militibus principem* M; before which Heräus inserts *militem principi.*

27. **reposcentibus,** etc.: *sc.* demanding of them how they had used their victory (at Bedriacum) and what misfortune had compelled them to change sides (Orelli). Heräus thinks that *reposc. prospera* means that they would be asked to show how they had bettered themselves by changing sides; but this sense can hardly be got out of the Latin.

XIV.

8. **abrupto ponte** : over the Tartarus, apparently.

11. **praemiserat** : ii. 100.

XV.

1. **Antonio,** dative: cp. 12, *Vespasiano tenebantur,* and note on i. ii.

8. **Germanorum,** *sc.* German auxiliaries: 8.

11. **belli molem** : cp. i. 61. M has *luem*, retained by Orelli, which would mean 'a force disastrously great.' Cp. *A.* ii. 47.

13. **secundis...castris**, 'in two days' march': cp. iv. 71, and Caes. *B. G.* 7, 36. If he went by Mantua the distance would be about 45 miles.

Bedriacum : *v.* note on ii. 23.

17. **imbuerentur**, 'might accustom themselves to': cp. 49 *ut licentia militem imbueret.*

17, 18. **ad octavum**, sc. *lapidem*: eight miles from Bedriacum on the via Postumia, so about twelve from Cremona.

19. **cursabant** : M has *curabant*, which might stand, as the word is often used absolutely.

XVI.

1. **Quinta hora** : about 11 A.M.

3, 4. **quidnam agendum** : on the omission of *esset v.* on i. 21.

7. **nam** refers to *modica.*

versa fortuna, 'the tables were turned.'

8. **citissimus** : Orelli retains *ultimus*, the reading of M; this can only mean (for Heräus' rendering *per ultima campi fugiebat* can hardly stand) that those who had been foremost in pursuit now found themselves last in flight; a scarcely necessary touch, although it puts the picture more vividly before us.

9. **sponte Antonii** : a construction frequent in Tac.; cp. iv. 19, *sponte legatorum.* Varro *de lingua Latina*, vi. 7, 71.

acciderunt : M has the pluperfect, which does not make sense.

11. **medio** : cp. i. 68, *medio vagi.*

13. **datum per agros** : cp. 15.

18. **conflictabantur**, 'were embarrassed by': cp. 32, where it means 'were at the mercy of.'

XVII.

2. **fortissimi.** Heräus reads *fortis*, *simi* having, he says, probably arisen from dittography of the first syllable of *militis.*

4. **manu voce**: cp. *A.* ii. 17. *Manu* in 29 means 'by waving his hand,' here, by his deeds.

6. **vexillarius** is here 'a standard bearer,' as i. 41. On the common meaning of the word (a man serving in a detachment away from his legion), *v.* i. 31.

7. **quo dolore** = *cuius rei dolore*: cp. ii. 43. Livy xxi. 5, *quo metu.*

9. **interfluentis rivi**, 'a stream that barred their way': cp. 8, *interjectus.* The stream may perhaps have been the Delmona, a tributary of the Oglio.

10. **incerto**, 'unsafe': cp. *A.* i. 70, where it is opposed to *solidus.*

13. **atque illi consternantur**, 'at once they were thrown into confusion.'

16. **prospero clamore**, 'shouts of triumph.'

XVIII.

1. **fulsere ... signa**: notice the picturesque description.

2. **legionum**: for plural, cp. i. 18, note.

laeto, 'successful': *v.* i. 27, note.

4. **contra fuit**: cp. 5, *impune foret.*

6. **tantum per spatium**, eight miles (ch. 15), Bedriacum being twenty miles from Cremona.

9. **incursat**, followed by the accusative as in iv. 6, *incursare Canninefates; A.* xi. 18, *inc. Germaniam.* Livy uses it in the same way.

11. **multi e legionariis.** Dübner's correction of the MS. *militiae legionariis.*

14. **minorem ad resistendum animum**, 'less stomach for fighting.' On the omission of *tanto*, *v.* i. 14, note.

XIX.

3. **recentia caede vestigia**: cp. Virg. *A.* ix. 455, *recentem caede locum;* a similar use is 77, *recens victoria miles. Caedes* is used as in 29, *completur caede.*

6. **in medio**, 'openly.'

7. **plano**: *al. in plano*, which is certainly more in accordance with Latin usage; but the simple ablative of place is not uncommon in Tacitus, *e.g.* 48, *eodem latere sitam.*

8. **idem audaciae**: cp. *A.* xiii. 16, *idem aetatis.*

10. **clementiam** = *famam clementiae.*

12. **sinu**: on its metaphorical use, *v.* ii. 92, note.

15. **ne cuiusquam** according to Madvig's rule for *quisquam* is more general and emphatic than *ne cujus*, 'no one whoever' (Madv. *Lat. Gr.* 494).

15, 16. **rupturi ni ducantur**: cp. 56, *si consulerentur vera dicturis.* A conditional clause depending on a future participle is hardly found before Livy.

XX.

7. **pro virili portione**: Cicero and Livy would say *pro virili parte.*

11. **ignotae situm urbis** = *ignotum situm urbis*: the same phrase, Livy 5, 39. On *situs* in the sense of 'plan,' *v.* i. 48, note.

16. **vineis**: cp. ii. 21, note.

17. **dolabras**: cp. Liv. 21, 11, where Hannibal sends men with *dolabrae* to attack the base of the walls of Saguntum.

expugnandis: for the dative of purpose, cp. *cetera usui* (below) and 70, *inritandis hominum oculis.*

21. **pluteis cratibusve.** *v.* ii. 21, note.

23. **quin**, 'why not?'

25, 26. **lixas calonesque**, *v.* ii. 87, note.

XXI.

4, 5. **sex...egerat**, v. 14. Besides the six complete legions there were detachments from three other legions, and a force of cavalry. These troops cannot have come by the direct route (via Postumia) or the Flavians would have already encountered them. It is suggested that they marched by the via Aemilia (by Mutina and Parma), but this would have taken them too far to the south.

7. **obstructas mentes**, on the analogy of *obstructae aures.*

8. **sistere** = *consistere :* Tac. often prefers simple to compound verbs. Cp. i. 35, *sistens* (= *resistens*) according to one reading.

9. **aggere** ; *v.* note on the battle described ii. 24. Otho's army is there formed across a road, as the Flavians are here.

12. **limitem**, according to Orelli a footway parallel to the main road or *agger* (cp. 25 *limes viae*). Heräus and Wolff with more probability make it a path at right angles to the road.

15. **praetor. vexillum** : who had been disbanded by Vitellius and re-enlisted under Vespasian, ii. 67.

16. **equite** : instrumental ablative.

17. **Sido atque Italicus** : 5.

XXII.

3. **algore** : it was near the end of October.

4. **ratio fuit**, 'their plan should have been.' For the infinitive (the use of which is much extended by silver age authors), cp. *A.* xiv. 14, *vetus illi cupido erat...canere.*

5. **indigus rectoris** : Valens had not yet come and Caecina was under arrest.

7. **per iram ac tenebras** : like the hackneyed instance 'in tears and a sedan chair.' Wolff compares Lenau's *in Dämm'rung und Gedanken.* i. 63, *cum magistratibus et precibus.*

9. **suorum**, if genuine, appears to be superfluous ; at best it can only serve to emphasize the fact that Tac. is speaking of the Vitellian, not the Flavian army; thus grammatically it will refer to *quartam Macedonicam.*

16, 17. **his, rursus illis** = *modo his, modo illis :* cp. 82, *hos, rursus illos.*

21. **septima legio**, posted *patenti campo*, would naturally have the hardest fighting. *a Galba conscripta*, i. 6.

22, 23. **sex prim. ord centuriones**, thus a fifth of the centurions of highest rank ; *v.* 13, note.

24. **aquilam** : since the time of Marius the eagle was committed to the charge of the senior centurion in the legion (*primipilus*), though actually carried by the *aquilifer.*

XXIII.

2. **excepere pugnam** 'took their turn at fighting.'

7. **ballista.** On the Roman military engines *v. Dict. of Antiq. Tormentum. Ballistae* threw stones (varying in weight from two pounds to half a hundredweight), *catapultae* shot darts. Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 7) says that the Romans had a ballista which would throw stones to the distance of a quarter of a mile.

10. **vincla ac libramenta** (*hendiadys*) 'suspending chains.'

11. **intercidit**; cp. Liv. 2, 8, *memoria intercidit.*

9. **arreptis...scutis.** The soldiers were probably praetorians, and so their armour would make them more easily recognized, hence the disguise.

13. **adulta nocte**, cp. *A.* i. 23, *aestate adulta; Thuc.* 2, 19, *τοῦ θέρους ἀκμάζοντος.*

luna. Dio 65, 11, says the moon became *αἱματώδης καὶ μέλαινα.* There was a similar effect in a battle between Pompeius and Mithridates (*Plut. Pomp.* 32).

ostenderet falleretque, 'threw a deceptive light on.'

15. **falso velut in corpora, ictu**: *sc.* the ill-aimed missiles, directed against the shadows instead of the actual bodies, fell short. Cp. ii. 22, *certo ictu.*

18. **incauti offerebantur**, 'were an easy mark.'

XXIV.

2. **pudore** = *verbis pudorem facientibus.*

4. **Pannonicas**: xiii. and vii. Galbiana.

5. **prioris ignominiae**, *sc.* theii defeat in the first battle of Bedriacum.

7. **principes auctoresque belli**: ii. 85. Cp. Liv. xl. 50, *principes et auctores transcendendi Alpes.* Caes. *B. G.* v. 52, *principes belli inferendi.*

ciebat = *exciebat*; cp. 10, *nomine ciens.*

10. **accedere**, several times with the accusative in Tac. *e.g. A.* ii. 58: also in Varro, Nepos, Sallust.

11. **Parthos ... pepulissent**, in 36 B.C.: Antonius is appealing to the traditions of the legion, not individual memory.

12. **Armenios**, *A.* xv. 26.

Sarmatas, i. 79.

infensius, 'in harsher language.'

13. **pagani**, properly '*villagers*': it is a sharper taunt than Caesar's well-known *Quirites* (to his mutinous soldiers).

14, 15. **illic signa armaque**: according to ii. 57 the Praetorians had given up their weapons to their officers.

16. **ignominiam consumpsistis**; 'you have drunk the cup of shame to the dregs.' Cf. Sil. Ital. xi. 34, *consumptus pudor*.

17. **solem**: cp. Herodian iv. 15, ἀσπασάμενοι τὸν ἥλιον ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς (of the Parthians when beginning a battle). The 3rd legion had served under Corbulo in Syria.

XXV.

1. **inde**, from the fact of their saluting the sun.

an: *v.* i. 7, note.

2. **in vicem** = *inter se*; *v.* i. 74, note.

5, 6. **impetus vel pavor**, etc. *sc. impetus contraheret vel pavor diduceret.* Logical arrangement is sacrificed to the balance of the sentence. There is the same mode of expression in ii. 41: *in primam postremamve aciem prorumpebant aut relabebantur.*

6. **impulsos.** M has *pulsos*, which does not give the sense of 'shaken' or 'wavering.' The last letter of *postquam* may have caused the confusion.

9. **limitem viae**, here the footpath parallel to the *agger viae.*

13. **additus**, instead of the technical word *ascriptus* or *in legionem conscriptus.* Tac. avoids technical terms where he can.

18. **voce flebili**: for the active use of *flebilis* cp. *penetrabile frigus*, Virg. *Georg.* i. 93.

precabatur placatos: sc. *ut placarentur.* There is the same proleptic use in Virg. *Georg.* iv. 547, *placatam Eurydicen vitula venerabere caesa.* For the next words cp. Liv. iii. 50, *neu se ut parrīcīdam liberorum aversarentur.*

20. **publicum**, *sc.* done in the public service: '*ne sibi potius imputent hoc facinus quam universis civilibus armis.*' (Ernest. ap. Orell.)

24. **miraculum**, 'astonishment,' as in i. 27.

XXVI.

2. **Othoniano bello,** *v.* Bk. II.

4. **auxerat,** heightened by towers : 29.

7. **nullo iuxta subsidio :** cp. 31, *nulla ultra venia.*

9. **victoria ad inritum revolvebatur,** 'they were like to lose the fruits of their victory.'

11. **molientes :** *moliri* always conveys the idea of effort or difficulty : *v.* ii. 35, note.

16. **pensabantur,** instead of the common compound *compensare.*

XXVII.

7, 8. **proxima Bedriacensi viae :** the combination of a neuter plural adjective with a dative or ablative, or a prepositional phrase, is not common : cp. Liv. xxi. 11, *per patentia ruinis.*

12. **et alii,** instead of *alii ... alii.* Cp. *A.* i. 63, *ut opus et alii proelium inciperent.*

14. **artes,** 'tactics.'

pondera saxorum, 'weighty stones.' Cp. *A.* i. 17, *uligines paludum.*

15. **testudinem :** cp. Liv. xliv. 9, and Lucan iii. 474, *ut tamen hostiles densa testudine muros | tecta subit virtus armisque innexa priores | arma ferunt, galeamque extensus protegit umbo.*

16, 17. **donec ... prosternerent :** cp. 23 *donec ... ostenderet. Donec* in the sense of 'till at last' is used by Cicero with the indicative only : by Tac. sometimes with the indicative, but generally with the subjunctive.

18. **incesserat :** *v.* ii. 63, note. For the indicative cp. Agr. 37, *coeperant ... ni opposuisset.*

19. **Cremonam monstrassent,** *sc.* promised them the plunder of Cremona.

XXVIII.

1. **Hormine :** cp. 12.

ingenium, 'device.' Cp. iv. 32, where *ingenia* = 'caprice,' and Plin. *Pan* 49, *exquisita ingenia coenarum.*

2. **Plinius**: the elder Pliny, an older contemporary of Tacitus, left twenty books, *bellorum Germaniae*, and also thirty-one books entitled *a fine Aufidii Bassi* (*i.e.* a continuation of Bassus' history). He is referred to as an authority for the period, *A.* xiii. 20; xv. 53.

3. **haud facile discreverim**: the perfect subjunctive used potentially in a negative sentence is common in Tacitus. Cp. 22, *adseverare non ausim*; *A.* v. 6, *haud discreverim.* It is also occasionally used in affirmative sentences, as ii. 76, *propius fuerit.*

nisi quod, 'I will only say that,' etc.

4. **quamvis pessimo.** Cicero prefers to use the positive with *quamvis.*

10. **omni imagine mortium.** Cp. *Aen.* ii. 369, *plurima mortis imago*; Thuc. iii. 81, πᾶσα ἰδέα θανάτου.

XXIX.

3. **obstinatos inter se**, 'stubbornly vying with each other." For the participle, cp. 17, *firmati inter se.*

4. **superiacta**: M has *superiecta*; but there seems to be best authority for the *a.*

6, 7. **quos inciderat.** Cp. *Aen.* ix. 721, *bellatorque animos deus incidit*; Appul. *Met.* ii. 13, *fortunam ... incidi.*

8. **iuncta**, *sc.* built on the rampart.

9. **cuneis** = *cuneatim*: cp. v. 16. *Cuneus* is properly a wedge-shaped column (*Veget.* iii. 19), but is often used for any kind of columnar formation.

XXX.

1. **nova laborum facies.** Cp. *Aen.* vi. 103, *non ulla laborum, o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit.*

4. **stato**, 'regularly recurring': cp. *stata sacrificia*, etc.

8. **amoenissimis**: a word usually employed in described natural scenery.

10, 11. **altitudinem ... egressa**: for the accusative, cp. *A.* ii. 38, *egredi relationem.*

XXXI.

2. **cum languescere.** Livy and Sallust, as well as Tacitus, often use *cum* with the historic infinitive.

4. **cedere fortunae,** 'yield to their position' or 'to necessity.'

10. **primores castrorum:** *sc.* the tribunes, centurions, and decuriones.

10, 11. **nomen atque imagines:** these would be on the *vexilla*, and apparently also on shields. Cp. Suet. *Vesp.* 6, *nomen eius vexillis inscripserunt;* Dio Cassius, L. 5, speaks of Roman soldiers bearing Cleopatra's name inscribed on their shields; and cp. Quintilian, *pro milite*, 12, *inscriptum in scuto Marii nomen.*

15. **extremum malorum:** for the accusative in apposition to the sentence, *v.* i. 44, note.

17. **pro muris,** 'out on the walls': cp. i. 29.

24. **victoriae temperassent,** 'had not abused their victory': ii. 45.

27. **adeo invisa scelera sunt** refers of course only to *perfidia.* So hateful is crime that they reproached him even with that treachery which had served their own interests.

XXXII.

2. **conflictabatur:** cp. 16.

5. **in neutrum,** *sc.* neither for nor against it.

8. **credebantur:** cp. 4.

9. **amphitheatrum:** ii. 67.

11. **invidiam,** 'bad feeling.'

15. **ditem alioqui** = already rich enough.

19. **excepta vox est,** etc. The *vox* is the utterance of the slave, not (as some think) of Antonius. The general complains that the water is not hot enough; the slave replies, 'it will be hot directly.' Some one, hearing the words, interprets them as if Antonius had asked the slave if Cremona was already burning, and the reply had been 'it will be on fire immediately.'

20. **vernile** = *servi;* cp. ii. 59, vernilibus = coarse, fit for slaves.

XXXIII.

2. **lixarum**: on their usual character, *v.* ii. 87, *procacissimis etiam inter servos lixarum ingeniis.*

3. **in libidinem ... corruptior**: *in* expresses the aim or result. Cp. *A.* xv. 44, *tamquam in saevitiam unius absumerentur* (to gratify one man's cruelty).

7, 8. **ubi...incidisset**: for the subjunctive cp. i. 49, *ubi in bonos incidisset*, and note on *si mali forent*, in the same chapter.

7. **aut quis** = *aut aliquis*: as if the pronoun were immediately preceded by *ubi.*

10. **gravia auro ... dona**: cp. Virgil's *dona dehinc auro gravia.*

13, 14. **faces in manibus** according to Halm's punctuation is explained by Heräus and Wolff as meaning *cum facibus*, *faces manibus gerentes*; Heräus compares *Aen.* v. 136, *considunt transtris intentaque brachia remis | intenti expectant signum*: but generally there is a stop after *remis*, and probably there should be one after *eruere* here.

16. **utque exercitu**: on *ut*, *v.* i. 4 note. '*Exercitu*' is an ablative of attendant circumstances, a sort of abl. absolute; cp. ii. 73, *ut nullo aemulo.*

19, 20. **in ignem considerent**: cp. *Aen.* ii. 624, ix. 144.

20. **Mefitis**, *dea avertens molestiam odoris gravissimi, putoris, qui ex corruptione aeris nascitur* (Orelli); properly the *corruptio aeris* or *malaria* itself; a deity whom the inhabitants of the banks of the Padus would find it only too necessary to propitiate. An inscription dedicating an altar to Mefitis has been found at Cremona.

For the common Italian deification of harmful agencies, cp. *e.g.* the invocation of Mildew or Blight in the *Fasti* of Ovid (iv. 911), *Aspera Robigo parcas Cerealibus herbis*, etc.

[Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 11.) gives a very different account of the battle and taking of Cremona. According to him the Vitellians did not surrender; Antonius surrounded most of the army and cut it to pieces, pursuing the remainder into the town. 4500 Flavians and 30,200 Vitellians fell (Josephus always deals in large numbers). It is needless to say that Tacitus is the more reliable authority on Italian history.]

XXXIV.

2. **primordio sui**, instead of *prim. suo*: cp. *A.* ii. 54, *nostri origine.* In older authors the genitive of personal pronouns is usually objective, after a substantive of action; *e.g. accusator mei = qui me accusat.*

On the foundation of Cremona *v.* Liv. xxi. 25.

6. **rueret**, a stronger word than *irrueret* or *ingrueret.*

4. **ingruente in**, 'threatening.'

7. **opportunitate fluminum**, 'the convenient vicinity of its rivers' (Po, Adda, Oglio).

ubere agri: cp. *Aen.* iii. 164, *potens armis, atque ubere glebae.*

8. **adnexu conubiisque gentium**, 'connection and intermarriage with the surrounding population.' It is not necessary to suppose (with Heräus) that *adnexu* is deliberately substituted for *commerciis*, though the right of trading would doubtless be included among other forms of connexion.

9. **civilibus infelix**: Cremona had sided with Brutus and Cassius, and had therefore been deprived of much of its territory by the *triumviri.* Cp. *Ecl.* ix. 28, *Mantua vae miserae nimium vicina Cremonae.*

13. **occidi coepere**: cp. i. 16, *eligi coepimus*, instead of the passive form, which earlier authors generally prefer to use with the passive infinitive.

16. **municipum**: townsmen of other places probably besides Cremona itself. Under the empire Italian towns are generally called *mnnicipia* whether really so, or *coloniae*; on the distinction under the Republic, *v.* Watson's ed. of Cicero's Letters, Appendix xii. Cremona was itself a *colonia* properly speaking.

XXXV.

1. **sepultae urbis.** Cp. Cic. *ad. Fam.* iv. 5, *cadavera urbium.*

6. **ambigue agerent**, 'waver in their allegiance.'

Illyricum: i. 2, note.

9. **Alpinius Montanus**: *v.* iv. 31.

10. **uterque ... fuerant**: cp. ii. 97, *uterque ambigui.*

11. **ostentui**, 'as visible signs' (of their victory).

12. **suspecta ... tamquam**: *v.* i. 7, note.

XXXVI.

The story returns to Vitellius: cp. ii. 101.

3. **curis luxum obtendebat**, 'postponed anxieties to luxury.' There is a different construction in 56: *nube diem obtenderent.*

5. **in ore vulgi agere**, a phrase used several times by Tac., and by Cicero (*in Verrem.*, i. 46); cp. also *pro Plancio*, 27, *habitavi in oculis.*

6. **quibus si**, etc. = *quae, si cibum iis*, etc. Cp. Cic. *R. P.* i. 4, *is enim fueram, qui quum liceret* (sc. *qui quum mihi liceret*) *majores ex otio fructus capere quam ceteris, non dubitaverim*, etc.

9. **Aricino.** The grove of Diana Aricina, at Aricia, on the Appian way, sixteen miles from Rome. The town was the first stage of Horace's journey to Brundisium. *Sat.* i. 5, *egressum magna me excepit Aricia Roma | hospitio modico.*

desidem: *v.* i. 88, note.

10. **perculit**: as we should say 'he received the startling news that,' etc.

15. **pietatem**, 'loyalty.'

16. **Sabinum**: ii. 92. Varus, ii. 29 (there *praefectus castrorum*).

XXXVII.

1, 2. **composita in magnificentiam oratione**, 'a laboured and high-flown oration.'

3. **atrocis ... sententiae**, 'a vote of censure.'

4. **L. Vitellius**, brother of the emperor.

12. **suspensi et vitabundi**: *sc.* their doubt and fear led them to avoid direct mention of Vespasian. Cp. the account of the Senate in a similar difficulty, i. 85.

13. **unum consulatus diem**: cp. i. 77 (note) for the number of consuls in this year and their periods of office.

16, 17. **eiuravit magistratum**, *sc.* abdicated his office. Magistrates took a solemn oath on the last day of their tenure that they had done nothing illegal.

16. **adnotabant periti**, 'it was remarked by men of knowledge.' The same expression *A.* xii. 25.

17. **abrogato magistratu neque lege lata**: I do not know however what *abrogatio* there could be without a *lex*, unless we suppose it effected by a *senatus consultum*. There seems to have been an instance of this in the last century of the Republic, Cinna being deprived of his consulship by the authority of the Senate (*Vell.* ii. 20); but Plutarch says that he disregarded the *abrogatio* as illegal. Cp. iv. 47, *abrogati legem ferente Domitiano consulatus*.

18. **suffectum**, elected to fill a vacancy caused by any premature deprivation, properly; under the Empire, the consuls for the first division or *nundinum* of the year are *ordinarii*, the rest *suffecti*.

nam: *sc.* it was only the illegality, not the fact, which was remarked, for the thing itself had occurred before. In 45 B.C. Caninius Rebilus was consul for the afternoon and evening of Dec. 31. Cicero makes jokes about him in a letter (*ad Fam.* vii. 30): *ita Caninio consule scito neminem prandisse... fuit mirifica vigilantia, qui suo toto consulatu somnum non viderit.*

XXXVIII.

1. **I. Blaesi**: Vitellius' host in Gaul, ii. 59, i. 59. Orelli says he is the *Blaesus filius* of *A.* iii. 74; if that is so he must have been an old man by this time, as the date of the events there described is about A.D. 20.

3. **Servilianis hortis**, near the Tiber, between Rome and Ostia. *v. A.* xv. 55. Suet. *Nero*, 47.

5. **Caec. Tuscum**, banished by Nero in 67, but recalled after his death. Cp. Suet. *Nero*, 35, *Tuscum nutricis filium relegavit, quod in procuratione Aegypti balineis in adventum suum exstructis lavisset.*

7. **cetera in maius**: *sc.* an exaggerated account was given of the rest. Heräus says that *cetera* is for *ceterum* (moreover). According to him it is used in this way seven times in Tac.

11, 12. **principum offensas**, etc., *sc.* keep a watchful eye on whatever may offend the emperor. Vitellius was *subitis offensis mutabilis*, ii. 92.

17. **confusionis**, 'emotion.'

18. **sui anxium**: the same expression, *A.* ii. 75.

23. **Iunios**: thus Blaesus would belong to the same *gens* as M. Junius Brutus, the republican. Apparently he was descended from Augustus' sister Octavia, at one time married to the triumvir Antonius.

24. **imperatoria**: his father (*v. sup.*) having been saluted *imperator* by the legions for his victory over the African Tacfarinas. *A.* iii. 74.

26. **amicorum inimicorumque neglegens**, 'caring not who was friend or foe.'

25, 26. **dum ... fovet.** The subordinate clause is independent of the *oratio obliqua*, as is often the case in Tacitus, more especially with clauses introduced by *dum*.

30. **si quid fato accidat**, *i.e.* in case of death by disease; on the other hand, a violent death is *praeter fatum* (cp. the Homeric ὑπὲρ μόρον): Cic. *Phil.* i. 4.

XXXIX.

3. **veneno.** Perhaps Suetonius refers to this when he says (*Vit.* 14) that Vitellius killed *etiam unum veneno manu sua porrecto in aquae frigidae potione.*

4. **notabili**: al. *nobili.*

6. **pavisse oculos.** Suetonius tells this story, but of another occasion; *l. c.*

8. **elegantiam morum.** Cicero uses the word also in a moral rather than an æsthetic sense: *pro Sulla*, 28, *vos qui cum summa elegantia atque integritate vixistis.*

10. **partium**, *sc.* the disaffected party: *partes* by itself generally has this meaning.

12. **adeo non** = *nedum*: *v.* i. 9, note.

13. **parum**, etc.; he could not escape the crime of being thought worthy to rule.

XL.

11. **perrumpere**, *sc.* through the country about Ravenna.

14. **dum media sequitur**: *dum* here as often indicates an action which brings about some result not contemplated by the agent; cp. *e.g.* i. 82, *vulnerato tribuno et praefecto legionis dum ruentibus obsistunt.*

15. **providit**, used absolutely, 'was cautious.' Cp. Cicero, *ad Fam.* ix. 18, *actum est de te nisi provides.*

XLI.

2. **tres cohortes**: *praetoriae*, Heräus says. But all the praetorian cohorts were still at Rome. In 55, Vitellius sends fourteen of them (the total number being sixteen) to hold the Apennines; thirteen surrender, one having apparently returned to Rome, as we find afterwards three besieging the Flavians in the Capitol.

3. **fallere**, used absolutely; cp. *fefellere*, ii. 98.

7. **aderant**, 'ministered to his passions.'

ruentis fortunae, etc.: *sc.* the fact that this was the last indulgence which his falling fortunes allowed him. For the thought, cp. ii. 47, *difficilius est temperare felicitati qua te non putes diu usurum.*

13. **pavidos.** M has *avidos*, which gives only the very strained sense, 'they were so eager for danger that they were ready to change sides at their own risk.'

14. **eo metu**, etc. In M *metu* is followed by *et paucis ... comitantibus;* the transposition in the text, giving a slightly better sense, is authorized by the Codex Budensis. In any case the *pauci* are Valens' personal retinue.

16. **flexit**: from the via Flaminia which led to Ariminum.

18. **ignavum**, an epithet applied to things as well as persons: cp. i. 62, *ignava pax.*

si provenisset, 'in the event of success.' Cp. Suet. *Vesp.* 5, *quicquid cogitaret...id esse proventurum.*

19. **atrox**, 'alarming' to the enemy: cp. i. 51, *atroces nuntii.*

XLII.

3. **Liburnicis**: ii. 16, note.

4, 5. **Picenus ager**, to the south of Umbria.

7. **segnitia maris**, instead of the proper term *malacia. depellitur* is logically connected only with *adversante vento.*

8. **portum Herculis Monoeci**: Monaco. The accusative is used by itself, on the analogy of the omission of *ad* before names of towns.

9. **agebat** = *erat, versabatur*: cp. 34, *trans Padum agentes.*

Marius Maturus ... procurator, an imperial agent administering the small Caesarian province of the *Alpes maritimae;* ii. 12.

XLIII.

2. **Valerius Paulinus** had served in the Jewish war: later he is spoken of *praefectus Aegypti.*

1. **procurator** of Gallia Narbonensis, probably.

3. **ante fortunam,** 'before his elevation': cp. i. x., *post fortunam.*

4. **exauctorati,** 'discharged'; ii. 67.

4, 5. **bellum ... sumebant;** on the analogy of *arma sumere*: cp. v. 25.

5. **Foroiuliensem coloniam,** Fréjus, more commonly called *Forum Iulii* or *Forum Iulium:* cp. *A.* ii. 63.

claustra, 'the key.'

9. **favore municipali,** 'out of friendship for their fellow-townsman.'

11. **varios,** 'wavering.'

12. **speculatoribus**: cp. i. 24, note.

13. **totidem;** it is not clear whether this means three or seven.

15. **volentibus fuit,** like the Greek βουλομένοις ἦν. Cp. *A.* i. 59, *ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat.* Sallust (*Iug.* 84) and Livy (xxi. 50) also use this construction.

18. **Stoechadas** (Στοίχαδας), so-called because lying in a row: now the '*îles d'Hyères.*' There are three of them. The ancient names were Prote, Mese, and Hypaea.

19. **defertur;** Orelli reads *adfertur.*

20. **oppressere,** 'overtook.' The word is often used as here in the sense of coming suddenly upon or taking by surprise: cp. 68, *repentina vis Caesarem oppressit.* For Valens' death, *v.* 62.

XLIV.

2. **Adiutrice,** *prima classicorum.* It had been sent to Spain by Vitellius; ii. 67.

5. **inclinatus.** M has *inditus;* hence others read *insitus.*

7. **praepositus et bello clarus** is the MS. reading. But the co-ordination of *praepositus* and *clarus* is extremely harsh, and Heräus therefore reads, *praepositus et pace et bello clarus egerat* is used absolutely (= *erat*) as in 42: for the addition of an adjective, cp. *A.* i. 68, *haud minus inquies Germanus agebat..*

6. **a Claudio**: in 43 A.D., under the command of Plautius Silvanus, *Agr.* 13.

7. **non sine motu ... ceterarum**, 'not without some resistance on the part of the rest,' the XX *Valeria* and IX *Hispanica*. The twentieth legion especially was unwilling to join Vespasian; *Agr.* 7 (*Mucianus*) *Agricolam vicesimae legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressae praeposuit.*

XLV.

For the events here briefly alluded to, cp. *A.* xii. 31, and following chapters.

3, 4. **propriis in ... reginam stimulis**: *sc.* he had a quarrel of his own with her.

5. **Brigantibus**: north of a line drawn from the Humber to the Solway.

7. **instruxisse triumphum**, 'paved the way for his triumph.' This, however, must not be taken literally. Claudius' British triumph was celebrated in 44; while Caratacus was taken prisoner and brought to Rome with his family in 51. Hence Cartismandua rather completed Claudius' victory than prepared the way for his actual triumph.

17. **tamen** refers to *variis proeliis*; although the contest was long doubtful, yet they did save her at last.

18. **bellum nobis relictum**: to be finished in 71 by Petilius Cerialis.

XLVI.

2. **externa vi**: because the Batavi and Treveri (hence *perfidia socialis*) were joined by Germans living east of the Rhine.

5. **memorabimus**: in Books IV. and V.

Dacorum, in Roumania, opposite the Roman province of Moesia (corresponding to Servia and Bulgaria).

7. **prima rerum**: cp. *A.* iv. 40, *praecipua rerum.*

8. **in vicem** = *inter se*: they heard that the empire was turned into a battle-field.

10. **Danuvii**: the form always used by Tacitus. Other authors call at least the lower stream 'Ister.'

12, 13. **parabant, ni .. opposuisset**: cp. iv. 36, *eadem parabantur, nisi ... evasisset.*

12. **Mucianus**: he had left Byzantium, and was advancing westwards by land, cp. ii. 83.

sextam, called Ferrata. There was another sixth legion (*Gallica Victrix*), now in Spain.

17, 18. **transegimus**, 'settled the business,' 'made an end.' Cp. *A.* xii. 19, *bellorum egregios fines quotiens ignoscendo transigatur.*

18. **F. Agrippa** fell in battle against the Sarmatae; Jos. *Bell. Jud.* iv. 7.

Asia: a senatorial province, governed by a proconsul.

22. **pars consilii pacisque**, 'a wise and pacific policy.' Cp. iv. 86, *pars obsequii;* ii. 47, *pars ignaviae.* In this sense of *rôle*, Cicero prefers to use the plural, *partes.*

XLVII.

2. **mancipium**, a contemptuous word for a freedman; cp. ii. 57.

2, 3. **regiae quondam classis**: perhaps *quondam* is closely connected with *regiae*; the fleet, once the king's, but now no longer so, since the annexation of Polemo's kingdom to the empire in 63 A.D. Cp. Suet. *Nero*, 18.

3, 4. **Polemonis.** Polemo II., the last king of Pontus Polemoniacus, west of Trebizond.

5. **verterat** = *redactum erat.*

8. **temnendae**; the simple verb is rare in prose; cp. Virg. *Aen.* xi. 737, *pars belli haud temnenda.*

Trapezuntem. Trebizond, founded in 756 B.C. by settlers from Sinope (itself a Milesian colony).

9, 10. **Ponticae orae**, the frontier of the kingdom of Pontus.

10. **subitus**, used adverbially in the same way as *occultus* and *tacitus* often are.

cohors, perhaps a *cohors civium Romanorum*, as Heräus says; on these bodies, *v.* i. 64, note. In the present instance, the cohort was the royal bodyguard. For *auxilium*, cp. ii. 14, *vetus loci auxilium.* Notice the change from apposition to a principal sentence in *auxilium olim: mox, etc.*

13. **retinebant** properly goes only with *desidiam licentiamque.*

classi, such part of it as Mucianus had left. M has *classis.* Meiser conjectured *classis quoque faciem intulit.*

14. **vacuo**, cp. ii. 14, note.

eludens, 'moving unchecked': cp. Cic. *Cat.* i. 1, *quamdiu etiam furor iste tuus eludet?*

18. **camaras**; the word properly means 'arched roofs.' These boats were something like the popular representation of the Ark.

artis, 'low.' **pari utrimque prora**: cp. description of ships, *A.* ii. 6; *διπρῷροι.* Strabo ii. says they held about 25 men each.

23. **indiscretum et innoxium**, 'at will and with equal safety.'

XLVIII.

1. **ut**, after *advertit animum*, 'and caused him to,' etc.

3. **spectatae.** One would expect *spectatum.* The epithet is transferred from the man himself to that in which he has been tested.

6. **Chobi.** This river, the modern Khopi (called Cobus by Pliny), rises in the Caucasus and flows into the eastern end of the Euxine.

6, 7. **Sedochezorum**; otherwise mentioned only by Pomponius Mela (1.19).

8, 9. **minis armisque**, hendiadys; 'threats of war.'

14. **fluentibus.** For this use of the word cp. Cic. *de Off.* i. 90, *in rebus prosperis et ad voluptatem nostram fluentibus.* Vespasian was everywhere successful beyond his hopes.

13. **super** M; Heräus reads *supra.*

16, 17. **urbem Italiamque**, a common combination, which makes better sense than *urbem quoque*, which some read after the MS. *urbemque.*

17. **externae opis indigam.** Egypt and the province of Africa were the granaries of Rome. Augustus put Egypt on a different footing from other provinces, recognizing its importance in this respect; *A.* ii. 59. Cp. *A.* xii. 43, *Africam*

potius et Aegyptum exercemus, navibusque et casibus vita populi Romani permissa est. H. 1. 79 (*Calvia*) *transgressa in Africam ad instigandum in arma Clodium Macrum, famem populo Romano haud obscure molita.*

18. **eodem latere**, in the same quarter of the globe, as we say. The local ablative is without a preposition, as often in Tac.

namque refers to *externae opis indigam.*

19. **annonae subsidiis**, 'granaries': cp. Liv. xxvii. 6.

XLIX.

1. **dum hac**, etc., 'while these convulsions accompanied the transfer of empire.' Cp. Plin. *Paneg.* 5, *nutatio reipublicae.*

3. **post Cremonam**, 'after the episode of Cremona': most writers would say *post excissam Cremonam.*

4. **ex facili** = *facilia ;* a Graecism : cp. i. 57, *praesentia ex affluenti*, and Thuc. i. 34, *ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος.*

9. **ordines** 'commissions'; *i.e.*, he allowed the legions to name their centurion (who were in general apparently appointed by the commanding officer). Cp. i. 52, *redditi plerisque ordines ;* and i. 31, note.

10. **delecti** ; on the plural, *v.* i. 35, note.

12, 13. **corrumpendae disciplinae** ; *v.* ii. 100, note.

13. **in praedam vertebat**, made money out of it, perhaps by using his influence with the army to secure the election of would-be centurions.

14. **exitiosius** ; cp. iv. 11. Antonius lost his influence, but does not seem to have actually suffered in any way ; the court poet Martial eulogizes him in the reign of Domitian ; *v.* ii. 86, note.

L.

5. **profligato** ; *v.* ii. 4, note.

6. **undecuma legio**, old soldiers of Otho's, and sent back by Vitellius to Dalmatia ; ii. 11, 67.

8. **Dalmatarum**, inhabitants of the seaboard west of the modern Herzegovina and Montenegro.

9. **P. Silvanus**, governor of Dalmatia ; ii. 86.

10. **vis consiliorum**, 'real deciding power.'

11. **dies rerum**, 'time for action'; cp. 40, *agendi tempora.*

14. **legionariam**, service in the legions being *honoratior* : i. 87.

16, 17. **Fanum Fortunae** ; Fano, between Ariminum and Ancona.

17. **summa rerum**, 'general plan of campaign'; cp. ii. 81.

21. **clavarium**, lit. 'nail-money' (for shoes) : cp. the *calcearium* of Suet. *Vesp.* 8.

donativi nomen est; very likely a gloss.

22, 23. **festinatio atque aviditas**, etc. The general sense is that individuals got plunder, but this prevented the army as a whole from obtaining its supplies.

LI.

1. **Celeberrimos**: cp. *Agric.* 1, *celeberrimus quisque ingenio.* Cicero does not use the word in this sense.

2. **adversus**, 'with respect to.' Cp. *A.* xi. 17, *beneficentia adversus supplices.*

6. **ratio belli**, 'the nature of the war' : civil war relaxing the reins of discipline, as Tacitus says elsewhere.

6, 7. **distulerant** : the pluperfect, because the event narrated is a digression from the course of the story to what had previously happened.

10. **apud Ianiculum** : in the civil contests of 87 B.C., when the Ianiculum was besieged by Marius and Cinna ; the story is told in Liv. *Epit.* 79. Granius Licinianus and Valerius Maximus relate the incident, but make the slain man a soldier, not of Cinna, but Sertorius.

Horrors like these are rather to the taste of the picturesque writers of the early empire. Cp. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 375, *seqq.*

11. **Pompeianus**, a soldier of Pompeius Strabo.

12. **Sisenna** : praetor 78 B.C., and killed in the pirate war under Pompeius (Magnus), 67. He composed a history of his own time.

15. **petita** : Heräus puts a full stop after this word.

16. **haud absurde**, 'not without fitness.'

LII.

3. **clementius**, *i.e.* where the ascent was gentlest, least steep. Cp. *Germ.* 1, *clementer edito jugo.* Antonius of course expected that the Vitellians would have occupied the ordinary route (the *via Flaminia*).

5, 6. **necterent moras**: the same phrase, iv. 68. Cp. *Aen.* iv. 51, *causas innecte morandi.*

6. **nimius**, 'too powerful for them.'

10. **media**, 'ambiguously.'

13. **adversa abnueret**, etc.; 'refuse responsibility for failure or take credit for success.'

14. **P. Griphum**: mentioned again, iv. 39 (as praetor). It is not clear what legion he now commanded: Heräus says the seventh; but there seems to be very little evidence.

18. **volentia**, in passive sense, 'welcome.' Cp. *A.* xv. 36, *plebi volentia fuere.* Sall. *Hist.* 4, fr. 36, *volentia plebi facturos.*

LIII.

2. **eviluissent**: Mucianus' charges 'cheapened' all his adventures, rendered them fruitless to himself.

10, 11. **equestri procella**, 'a whirlwind of cavalry': while *vis peditum* implies the shock of a solid body. Livy uses *procella* several times in this way; and there is a passage in Book XXII. where Hannibal compares the Roman army to the storm-cloud on the mountains.

12. **casum Cremonae**: a natural euphemism.

17. **Daciam.** *Asiam* is the reading of M, but it gives no satisfactory sense, as we hear of no disturbance in Asia. Halm's reading is justified by the following, *illis Moesiae pacem;* although *Daciam componere* is a rather strange expression for the repulse of a Dacian inroad. cp. 46.

19. **validissimam**, strongest in any respect, whether military force or natural wealth.

LIV.

3, 4. **confitenti**, 'had he confessed.'

6. **falsis ingravescebat**, 'deception only made his state worse.' The verb is sometimes thus used, with a personal subject: cp. Cic. *ad Att.* 10. 4, *alter ... in dies ingravescit.*

10. **augendae famae deerant**, 'fail to spread the report. Cp. *A.* i. 1, *temporibus Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia.*

15. **perpulit**, used absolutely ('got himself sent,' as we say). Cp. the same construction, i. 66.

20. **vestigia**, 'ruins.'

23. **ultro**, here, seems to mean nothing but 'and more than that,' 'besides.'

Suetonius (Oth. 10) tells a story similar to that of Agrestis.

LV.

1, 2. **I. Priscum et A. Varum**, commanders of the praetorian guard; ii. 92; iii. 36.

5. **classicis**, *sc.* Misenensibus. The marines of the fleet had been formed into a legion, which is not to be confused with the *prima classica*, now in Spain.

7. **ceterae cohortes**: two praetorian cohorts, with seven *vigilum* and four *urbanae; v.* ii. 93.

9. **comitia.** The actual farce of election was played by the Senate since the time of Tiberius (*A.* i. 15, *e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt*), but the result was still announced (*renuntiatum*) to the people assembled in the *comitia.*

10. **destinabat.** The emperor's designation of candidates—technically, *nominatio* or *commendatio*—was the only important part of the election ceremony.

10, 11. **foedera sociis**; *sc.* he guaranteed to provincial communities special rights, such as immunity from taxation. Cities and communities, whose position with regard to Rome was defined by a treaty separate and distinct from those laws which provided for the general regulation of the province, were called *civitates foederatae;* and as the *foedus* would in most cases, though not in all, involve some kind of privilege, Tacitus uses *foedera* here in the sense of 'treaties guaranteeing privileges.'

11. **Latium externis.** The *ius Latii* or *Latinitas* gave its possessor the right of trading though not of intermarrying with Rome, and individual members of a 'Latin' community might under certain circumstances obtain the full franchise—if they had held high office in their native town, or migrated to Rome, leaving male issue behind them.

Since the time of Julius Caesar all Italy had possessed the full Roman franchise, and the *ius Latii*, extending with the extension of the franchise, was from time to time bestowed on provincial communities. *A*. xv. 32, *eodem anno Caesar* (*Nero*) *nationes Alpium maritimarum in ius Latii transtulit.* What Vitellius did then was nothing new; but Tac. blames his indiscriminate profusion. *Externi* are non-Italians; *socii*, non-Romans.

11. **dimittere** seems to be used in much the same sense as *remittere*: cp. Caes. *B. C.* i. 8, *Caesarem ... iracundiam suam...rei publicae dimittere.*

13, 14. **lacerare imperium**, 'inflicted severe wounds on the empire'; *immunitates* would diminish revenue, while indiscriminate concession of the Latin right must weaken the power and position of the ruling nation, by putting it more on a level with its subjects.

Suetonius (*Vit.* 15) gives much the same account of Vitellius' imprudent liberality.

14. **ad magnitudinem**, etc., the greed of the recipients only looked to the amount of the gift.

18. **Mevania** (Bevagna), N.W. of Spoletium in Umbria.

19, 20. **ambitione**; here, desire for self-advancement, 'selfish views.'

21. **incertus animi**: the same expression, *A*. vi. 46.

LVI.

2. **foedarum volucrum.** Heräus supposes them to have been locusts, which seems improbable. Birds of prey sometimes fly in flocks.

3. **obtenderent**, used in a different construction in 36.

4. **longe**, cp. Suet. *Tit.* 40, *Sabinos petit aliquanto tristior, quod sacrificanti hostia aufugerat.* Festus says it was a bad omen if the victim escaped from the altar, or lowed when struck, or fell the wrong way.

5, 6. **praecipuum ... ostentum**, 'the most pitiable sight.'

8. **quantus ... modus**, 'the advisability of haste or delay.' For *modus* in the sense of limit or moderation, cp. i. 83, *modum caritatis*; iv. 8, *modum libertatis.* Cic. *pro. Sest.* 79, *misericordia et modo.*

10. **dein**; Heräus reads *denique.*

13. **pavens**; *pavere* and *pavescere* are often used with the accus. in Tac., as well as in Sallust, Horace, and Livy.

summi discriminis, 'the real danger.'

16. **in aperto foret**, 'was his obvious course': cp. *Agric.* i. *agere memoratu digna pronum magisque in aperto erat.*

dispergit vires; sending a force into Campania, as we read in 58.

22. **iucundum et laesurum**; cp. 67, *blandae et intempestivae.*

aspere, sc. *acciperet.* M has *aspera;* we must then understand *essent*, and should rather expect *acerba* or *ingrata.*

LVII.

6. **Cl. Apollinaris** had commanded, no doubt, under Bassus; who till his defection was admiral of both fleets (ii. 100).

8. **Minturnis**, at the mouth of the Liris, on the borders of Latium and Campania; now in ruins.

10. **Puteoli** (Puzzuola), on the coast between Cumae and Neapolis.

11. **municipalem aemulationem**: perhaps 'petty feuds' is a sufficient translation: *v.* note on *oppidanus*, iv. 18.

18. **Tarracinam**, on the Appian way, near the Pontine marshes; its ancient name was Anxur, *impositum saxis late candentibus*, Hor. *Sat.* i. 5, 26.

LVIII.

1. **Vitellio**; he had returned to Rome.

parte copiarum, seven cohorts; 78.

2. **Narniae**, in Umbria, on the Nar, two days' march S. of Mevania; the army had apparently retreated from its former position.

4, 5. **aeger animi**, dispirited, depressed.

9. **vocari tribus**, *sc.* the 35 tribes of the urban population. The only occasion on which the tribes were now assembled were the distributions of corn and other largesses, and the levying of an army; soldiers were enlisted *tributim* at least since the period of Polybius.

14, 15. **ea simulatio**, etc., *sc.* fear caused a pretence of loyalty which developed into real sympathy.

18. **nec deerat** : *v.* 23, note.

21. **aspernatus antea** : i. 62, ii. 62.

21, 22. **superstitione nominis** (understand *hoc fecit*), 'from the superstitious reverence inspired by the title.'

24. **spatio**, 'with time.'

26. **sine discrimine**, *i.e.*, 'not caring whether Vitellius were present or not.'

27, 28. **quae non dabantur remisit**, 'excused them from a debt which they were not disposed to pay.'

LIX.

6, 7. **ut in novo obsequio**, 'with the zeal of men who had recently changed their allegiance.'

8. **hieme** ; it was December.

transitum Appeninni, by the *via Flaminia* from Fanum Fortunae.

9. **eluctantibus** : cp. *Agric.* 17, *difficultates eluctatus.*

11. **ratio**, 'policy,' 'generalship,' a common meaning : cp. 20, *ratio et consilium.*

13. **Cerialem** : Q. Petilius Cerialis Caesius Rufus, one of the most distinguished figures of the period. He was twice consul (70 and 74) ; commanded a legion in Britain in 61, and governed that country in 71 or 72 ; and quelled the great Batavian revolt.

cultu, 'dress,' as in Liv. xxiii. 34, and elsewhere.

14. **custodias** = *custodes*, just as we say 'post' or 'watch' when we mean those who are at the post or on the watch. Cp. iv. 28, *intentis custodiis ne quis ... penetraret.*

elabi, with accus., cp. *A.* i. 61 : a construction unknown to Cicero.

16, 17. **Flavius Sabinus**, brother of Vespasian, made *praefectus urbi* by the praetorians after Galba's fall, i. 46.

21. **aderat animus**, *sc.* he was ready enough : cp. 54, *suumque animum professus ;* and the phrase *animi causa.*

24. **necessitudinum**, concrete : his mother, wife, and children. Cp. Suet. *Aug.* 17, *necessitudines amicosque.*

LX.

1. **partium**, here, as generally, the party opposed to the nominally supreme authority.

Carsulas (Casigliano), in Umbria, on the W. slope of the Appennines.

5. **municipiis**, *e.g.*, Mevania, Spoletium, Urbinum.

8. **opperiebantur**, 'were disposed to await them.'

9. **quam**, for 'potius quam'; *v.* 70, note.

LXI.

1. **et**, 'then,' as often: cp. *e.g.*, v. 26, *et Civilis ita coepit.*

1, 2. **terrore famaque**, 'alarming report,' hendiadys.

4, 5. **donum ... gratiam**: in apposition rather with the preceding limb of the sentence than with *centurias turmasque*: cp. i. 44. *Gratia* is a thankworthy service, something that would earn gratitude in the future: cp. 64, *gratiam patrati belli.*

5. **certabant**, with the infin., like *aemulabantur ... inlicere*, ii. 62.

6. **Interamnam** (Terni), near the *via Flaminia*: cp. ii. 64.

8. **Varus**, the Flavian leader, Arrius Varus.

paucos repugnantium. *v.* 73, note on *pauci militarium virorum.*

10, 11. **in castra refugi** = *in castra refugientes*, just as *profugus* can take an ablative (56, *profugus altaribus*).

LXII.

1. **Urbini** (Urbino), in Umbria, S.W. of Fanum Fortunae, Raffaelle's birthplace.

7. **immane quantum** is used adverbially like *mirum quantum* and *θαυμαστὸν ὅσον*. Cp. iv. 34, and Sall. *Hist.* ii. fr. 76, *immane quantum animi exarsere.*

8. **Anagniae** (Anagni), in that part of Latium which was originally the territory of the Hernici.

9. **neque absurdus ingenio**, 'not without talent.' Cp. *A.* xiii. 45, *sermo comis neque absurdum ingenium.*

10. **urbanitatis**, 'wit.'

ludicro Iuvenalium, an entertainment of a very questionable character, given in Nero's grounds on the right bank of the Tiber, before a select company: *A*. xiv. 15; Suet. *Nero*, 12.

11. **velut ex necessitate**, 'on the plea of compulsion.' Cp. Juv. viii. 193, *quanti sua funera vendant quid refert? vendunt nullo cogente Nerone.*

mimos. The Graeco-Sicilian *μῖμοι* gave their name to the coarse national farce or harlequinade of the Italians. These performances—generally more or less indecent—developed a literature of their own towards the close of the Republican period, and practically held the stage in the first century A.D.

Wolff remarks that the sketch of Valens' character recalls Sallust's description of Sempronia (*Catil.* 25).

13. **Verginium**: *v.* i. 8.

F. Capitonem: governor of Lower Germany, i. 7. 58.

16. **inlustratus**: his loyalty shone the brighter by contrast with the perfidy of others, more especially Caecina.

LXIII.

2. **partes**: cp. *partium*, 39.

4. **descendere**, from the heights on which they had been encamped.

6. **ornatus**, equipped, armed.

circa, 'on either side of.' Cp. ii. 89.

viam, Flaminiam, on which Narnia lay.

10. **neque quiescentibus graves**, *sc.* they did not insult the Vitellians by a display of superior force. *Gravis* in the sense of 'offensive' or 'insulting' is common in Cicero: *grave est hoc dicere, grave, si adpetimus aliquid* (*Pro Sulla*).

13. **secreta**: the plural, because Vitellius was offered his choice between various spots. When only one place is meant, the singular is used. Cp. 13, *secretum castrorum.*

17. **litorum**, *sc.* some place on the coast. Some MSS. have *lictorum.*

18, 19. **ut, si ... oblivisceretur**: *oblivisceretur* is very much the same as *obliturus fuerit*; 'he was in a fair way to forget,' so 'would have forgotten.'

LXIV.

4. **cohortes urbanae.** Vitellius had raised four urban cohorts (city police) each one thousand strong; one of these had been sent with Julianus (57); had it shared his treachery?

5. **vigilum**: seven cohorts of firemen. Cp. i. 20, *vigiliae.*

servitia = *servos.*

ipsorum, *sc.* those who were encouraging Sabinus.

6, 7. **de gloria concederet.** In pre-Augustan writers *concedere de* requires an accusative of the amount given up. Cp. Ter. *Ad.* ii. 2. 9, *si nunc de tuo iure concessisses paululum.* Cic. *pro Rosc. Am.*, *magistro tantulum de arte concedere.*

7. **paucas,** three praetorian cohorts. Cp. *tres cohortes*, 78.

11. **prosperis** = *prosperis rebus.* Cp. 54 *falsis*, 77 *secundis*, and *ruentibus* here.

adeo: *v.* i. 9.

12. **patrati belli**: cp. *A.* i. 26, *posse bellum patrari; A.* ii. 66, *maluit patrati quam incepti facinoris reus esse.* *v.* Quintilian's criticism of the expression (note on ii. 100).

LXV.

3. **incesserent, tamquam**: cp. 77, *fuere qui Triariam incesserent tamquam superbe saeveque egisset.* For *tamquam*, *v.* i, 7, note.

7. **adfectam eius fidem parce iuvisse,** to have been stingy in the assistance he gave to restore his brother's impaired credit. Cp. i. 88, *afflicta fides.* *Parce iuvisse* is Halm's reading for MS. *praeiuvisse*, and would be explained by *domo ... acceptis;* his stinginess consisted in not giving the required help freely. Halm's reading has considerably more point than that of M, which is moreover an ἄπαξ λεγόμενον. Al. *praes iuvisse.*

Tacitus' statement here is confirmed by Suetonius, who says that Vespasian was so far from enriching himself by the government of Africa that he was obliged to mortgage his estates to his brother, and try to make money by slave-trading (Vesp. 4).

8. **quamquam manente**: v. 2, note.

9. **offensarum operta**: cp. ii. 92, *subitae offensae.* For the substantival neut. pl., followed by a genitive, cp. *A.* iv. 41; *tacita suspicionum.*

13. **per condicionem.** The plural would be more common; yet Cicero (*ad Fam.* vi. 2) says, *armis condicione positis.*

14. **in aede Apollinis**, built by Augustus on the Palatine.

ut fama fuit: then this interview was apparently not described by Cluvius Rufus in his memoirs.

15. **pepigere**, used absolutely. Suetonius (*Vit.* 15) says, *salutem sibi et milies sestertium a Flavio Sabino pepigit.*

verba vocesque: *voces* is apparently added to emphasize the antithesis to *vultus;* the audible word contrasted with the visible expression.

16. **Cl. Rufum**, on whom *v.* i. 8; ii. 58. 65: and note at end of ii.

Silium Italicum, present as a friend of Vitellius. He had been consul in the last year of Nero's reign, and subsequently had governed the province of Asia. Apparently for the next thirty years he resided in Italy, till his death by voluntary starvation in his seventy-fifth year. His epic on the Punic wars is now perhaps best remembered in connection with Macaulay's passing allusion to the 'languid hexameters of Silius Italicus.'

Pliny (*Ep.* iii. 7) says of him, *laeserat famam suam sub Nerone (credebatur sponte accusasse), sed in Vitellii amicitia sapienter se et comiter gesserat; ex proconsulatu Asiae gloriam reportaverat, maculam veteris industriae laudabili otio abluerat.*

17. **degener**, 'unworthy of his rank.' Cp. 85, *non degeneris animi.*

proiectus. Cp. *A.* iii. 65, *proiecta servientium patientia.*

LXVI.

5, 6. **fidem in libidine victoris**; the victor's promise would be kept or broken according to his caprice.

6. **superbiam** does not quite mean 'generosity.' The sense is, that Vesp. would not feel that secure consciousness of superiority which might enable him to spare Vitellius.

7-9. **ne victos ... misericordia.** The defeated Vitellians would not tamely acquiesce in their position; and so it would be dangerous to Vespasian to grant them their lives. Thus both

periculum and *misericordia* would refer to Vespasian. But Orelli takes *misericordia* to mean the indignant pity of the Vitellians for their deposed chief.

(Tiedke proposes *ne victos quidem laturo*—dative agreeing with *Vespasiano* above—and supposes the sense to be: Vespasian would not have spared Vitellius even as an enemy in arms, and actually defeated, much less would he suffer him to live as an influential citizen. But besides that this gives an unnatural sense to *privatus*, Vespasian as a matter of fact is spoken of above as the actual victor on the field.)

11. **Germanico**, ii. 59; his death, iv. 80.

15. **aemulatore redituram.** M has *aemulatore dituram.* Heräus reads *aemulo redituram*, on the ground that *aemulus* is more common in Tac. than *aemulator.*

16, 17. **casibus dubiis reservatum**, spared till success should be assured, so that the Flavians might utilize Valens' intercession in the event of their defeat.

17. **praegravem**, 'an inconvenient burden.'

18. **specimen partium**, 'the type of his party,' or its representative man.

19, 20. **non a Caesare**, etc. This is not historically accurate, as neither Julius Caesar nor Augustus had actually caused their rivals to be put to death. The argument is: if neither Caesar nor Augustus had been generous enough to spare their rivals, it was not likely that Vespasian would show this generosity towards a member of a family of which he had been a dependant.

22. **Vitelli.** L. Vitellius, the emperor's father: twice Claudius' colleague in the consulship (43 and 47) and once in the censorship (47-51); Suet. *Vit.* 2, *A.* xi. 3; *H.* i. 52, *Vitellio tres patris consulatus.*

29. **per ludibrium**, etc. The preposition seems to express the circumstances attending their end; whether they were to meet that end in the midst of mockery and insults or in the doing of some brave deed:

μὴ μὰν ἀσπουδί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην
ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.

LXVII.

1. **Surdae ad.** Cp. Liv. ix, 7, *surdae ad omnia solacia aures.* Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 11, *mentis ad omnia caecitas.*

4. **parens**, on whom *v.* ii, 64. 89. Suetonius (*Vit.* 14) says that scandal accused her son of hastening her death.

9. **legionis**, e classicis, 55. **Narniae**, cp. 63.

11. **familia**, including his slaves and freedmen. Suetonius' account of all this (*Vit.* 15) is less elaborate, and differs in certain details.

12. **blandae et intempestivae** : *et* connects two strongly dissimilar ideas here and elsewhere in Tac. ; the second epithet is almost παρὰ προσδοκίαν : cp. *e.g.*, 56, *iucundum et laesurum.*

LXVIII.

1, 2. **rerum humanarum immemor**, 'insensible to human misfortune.'

2. **illa facies, Romanum ... exire.** There is a similar construction in 72, *id facinus ... sedem Iovis furore principum excindi.*

4. **fortunae**, cp. ii. 59, *fortuna principalis.*

7. **ignotum rus**, a country house about four miles from Rome : cp. Suet. *Nero*, 48 *sqq.*

9. **in sua contione**, 'before the assembly which he had himself convened.' He was speaking from the Rostra (at the Capitoline end of the Forum).

17. **Caecilius Simplex**, *consul suffectus* for November and December. Cp. ii. 60 and i. 77, note.

18. **pugionem.** Cp. Suet. *Galba*, 2, *dependente a cervicibus pugione.*

reddebat, imperf. of attempt. *Reddere* does not necessarily mean to give back, but sometimes to give as a due ; so here. Cp. Juv. 1, 93, *horrenti tunicam non reddere servo.*

20. **aede Concordiae**, at the base of the Capitoline hill, immediately behind the Rostra. Founded in 367 B.C., and rebuilt or added to at different times, it was one of the most magnificent temples of Rome ; and it appears, moreover, to have been used as a kind of museum for works of art. The Senate frequently met in it.

On the history of this temple and its existing remains *v.* Middleton, *Rome in* 1885, p. 209 *sqq.*

21. **domum fratris**, close to the *forum* (70).

22. **obsistentium penatibus privatis**, 'opposing his entrance into a private house.' Cp. 70, *penates uxoris.*

23. **aliud iter**, 'every other way.' So Livy often uses *alii* for *ceteri*.

24. **in sacram viam**; the sacred way runs past the Palatine towards the Colosseum; the ascent from it to the Palatium seems to have quitted the road about the point where afterwards stood the arch of Titus.

LXIX.

1. **eiurari ... imperium**, 'that he was abdicating.' Cp. 37, note.

2. **cohortium**, of all the cohorts in Rome, the praetorian, urban, and *vigiles*.

4. **in Vesp. sinum cecidisset**, 'had come over to his side.' *Al. cessisset.* Louandre translates *se fut jetée aux bras de Vespasien. Cedere in* is used in this sense elsewhere: *A*. i. 1, *Lepidi atque Antonii arma in austrum cessit*: ii. 23, *omne caelium et mare in austrum cessit.* Cp. Plin. *Paneg.* 6, *confugit in sinum tuum concussa republica.*

5, 6. **miles urbanus**, sc. *cohortes urbanae*, not all the soldiers in the city; it has the wider meaning in i. 4, and ii. 94, *urbana militia* is used for any kind of service within the city.

7. **Germanicarum cohortium** must mean the three praetorian cohorts (cp. 78) who supported Vitellius. It appears from i. 93 and 94 that many of the men from the army of Germany were enrolled as praetorians; but it is rather surprising that the new cohorts should actually be called *Germanicae.*

13. **lacum Fundani.** Orelli says that this was near the Quirinal, and that an inscription (temp. Sulla) mentions the *vicus laci* (*sic*) *Fundani.*

16, 17. **improviso tumultu**, an ablative partly causal, partly of the attendant circumstance, 'as there was no calculated attack.'

17, 18. **re trepida**, 'amid the general confusion.'

18, 19. **arcem Capitolii.** The top of the steep hill now known as the Capitoline, although much altered by building and levelling, still appears to have been shaped into two distinct peaks of nearly equal height. Ancient writers call the northern summit (where now stands the Araceli church), the Arx, the S.W. distinctively Capitolium. It was this latter height which was occupied by Sabinus. Tacitus designates

it variously *arx Capitolii*, *Capitolina arx*, or *Capitolium* ; but he uses *arx* simply in the sense of height or summit, and we must not, therefore, suppose that he is referring to the *Arx*, properly so called, which occupied the northern elevation. What he means is the S.W. part of the hill, on which the principal building was the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (itself called Capitolium below).

Between the two heights lay a space known as the Asylum or *inter duos lucos*. Strabo v. 3. speaks of the Asylum as being *μεταξὺ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου*.

19. **mixto milite**, *i.e.*, soldiers along with senators and *equites*. Cp. i. 32, *plebs Palatium implebat mixtis servitiis*.

23. **Gratilla**, banished from Rome by Domitian (Plin. *Ep.* iii. 11 ; v. 1.)

26. **concubia nocte**, 'late at night' : according to Censorinus, the hour midway between twilight and midnight. Varro *de l. L.*, ii. 7, *intempestam Aelius dicebat noctem, quum agendi tempus est nullum, quod alii concubium appellarunt, quod omnes fere tunc cubarent*.

29. **artas res** ; cp. iv. 50, *artae Leptitanis res*.

LXX.

1. **in vicem** = *inter se :* cp. 46, *cuncta invicem hostilia*.

2. **C. Martialem**; a military tribune of the same name is mentioned as cashiered by Nero. *A*. xv. 71.

primpilaribus; *v.* i. 31, note.

7. **inritandis hominum oculis**, 'calculated to challenge observation' : dative of purpose, used as an epithet. Cp. 20, *cetera expugnandis urbibus*.

quam = *potius quam*, a not unfrequent use in Tac. : cp. 60, *praedae quam periculorum socias :* iv. 76, *verba et contiones quam ferrum et arma meditantis*.

13, 14. **unum e senatoribus**, 'only a senator,' merely one of many.

15. **captivitatibus urbium** : cp. *A*. xvi. 16, *in cladibus legionum aut captivitate urbium*.

16. **iudicatur**; the compound *diiudicare* is more common in this sense. Cp. Caes. *B. C.* ii. 32, *diiudicata iam belli fortuna*.

17. **Germaniis**, Upper and Lower Germany. The governor, Hordeonius Flaccus, and the *legionis legatus* Vocula had espoused Vespasian's cause; iv. 31, 37.

18. **ultro**; *v.* i. 7, note.

19, 20. **pacem ... victis utilia**: cp. ii. 20, *postquam pax et concordia speciosis et inritis nominibus iactata sunt.*

24. **summa rerum** is a difficult phrase to translate; sometimes it seems to mean 'the main issue' (like *res summa* in *quo res summa loco, Aen.* ii.), sometimes 'the general plan to be adopted,' as in 50 and ii. 81; here and in ii. 33, it may at least be paraphrased by 'the chief power' or 'empire.'

27. **culpam in militem**, etc. The accus. and infin. in a relative clause so abruptly introduced without an antecedent verb of saying is apparently an imitation of similar Greek constructions. For a like abrupt change to oratio obliqua, cp. *A.* ii. 45, *fugacem Maroboduum appellans ... ac mox per dona et legationes petivisse foedus.* At the same time, it should be remembered that the reading of M is *cuius nimius ardor imparem esse*, etc.

28. **modestiam**: apparently the sense is that Vitellius' counsels of moderation were unable to check the soldiery.

LXXI.

4. **imminentia foro templa**: for instance the temple of Castor and Saturn.

5. **erigunt aciem**: cp. iv. 71, *aciem in collem erigere.* The troops ascended by the Clivus Capitolinus, which very nearly corresponded with the present approach leading to the Piazza del Campidoglio from the south-west corner of the Forum, near the temple of Saturn and the shrines of the Di Consentes. Thus the Capitolina arx or Capitolium, that is the height on which stood the temple of Jupiter,—corresponding more or less with the site of the modern Palazzo Caffarelli,—would be on their left. But it would seem from the following description that the Flavians had occupied not only the Capitolium proper, but also the building now known as the Tabularium: for the Vitellians are described as making an unsuccessful attempt to force their way into a building to the right of the ascent, and separated from that ascent by certain 'porticus,' which corresponds with the Tabularium site. Middleton also supposes that the first attack was directed against the Tabularium; after describing its still existing

entrance from the side of the Forum, he adds, "it seems probable that this was the point at which the Vitellian rioters in A.D. 70 broke into the Capitol" (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 71). What the *porticus dextrae subeuntibus* were, is not very clear; the existing remains of the *porticus deorum consentium* are said to date from the Flavian era; perhaps Tacitus wrote before they were built, and is alluding to some old colonnade occupying the same site.

At any rate, the general idea of the attack is plain enough; in order the better to defend the stronghold of the Capitolium proper, the Flavians had occupied the buildings also on the right of the ascent; and into these first, through or over the intervening porticus, the Vitellians try to force their way. In *Capitolii fores penetrassent*, the proper meaning of Capitolium must be extended to the Tabularium.

13. **decora maiorum**; cp. *Aen.* ii. *veterum decora alta parentum.*

14. **tum diversos**, etc. Baffled in their first attempt, the Vitellians attack the Capitolium from two opposite points,—on the one side from the *lucus asyli*, *i.e.* roughly speaking, the Piazza del Campidoglio; on the other, from the direction of the Tarpeian Rock, that is, apparently, from the south. It seems probable that the Rupes Tarpeia was the escarpment of the hill abutting on the Vicus Jugarius and the Forum, therefore not the point now popularly known as the Tarpeian Rock, which would not be visible from the Forum at all. But modern buildings have made absolutely certain identification impossible.

To ascend to the Asylum, the Vitellians either climb the Clivus Capitolinus (in which case, however, their attack would scarcely be *improvisa*), or make a circuit by the *gradus Monetae* at the east side of the hill.

18, 19. **in multa pace**: cp. the same phrase, i. 77; on the analogy of *multo die*, *multa nocte*.

19. **in altum edita**: as the Capitolium proper stood about fifty feet higher than the Asylum, the roofs of houses built on the latter would naturally be about on a level with the base of the temple.

20. **hic ambigitur**, etc. M has *an obsessi quae crebrior fama nitentes ac progressos depulerint.* Halm's reading is justified by the fact that there is some trace of a word having dropped out after *fama*, and rather improves the sense: *dum* here as elsewhere introducing a result not contemplated, *v.* ii. 21, note.

23. **aedibus.** The temple, though commonly called that of Jupiter Capitolium, really contained three shrines, of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. This joint consecration appears to have been of very early date. Middleton says, "It may be presumed that Roma Quadrata, from the date of its founding, possessed that joint temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva (Tinia, Thalna, and Menrva), which, according to the religious rites of the Etruscans, were erected in every new-built town."

aquilae, either actual carved eagles, or beams suggesting by their position the outstretched wings of an eagle, supporting the pediment. The *fastigium* is actually called *ἀέτωμα* sometimes. Cp. Bekk. *Anecd.* p. 343, *ἡ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς προπυλαίοις κατασκεύη ἀετοῦ μιμεῖται σχῆμα ἀποτετακότος τὰ πτερά.* Pind. *Ol.* 13, *τίς γὰρ ἱππείοις ἐν ἔντεσιν μέτρα, ἢ θεῶν ναοῖσιν οἰωνῶν βασιλέα δίδυμον ἐπέθηκεν.*

LXXII.

2. **rei p. P. R.**; full form *respublica P.R. Quiritium* (Liv. xxii. 10).

5. **auspicato**, 'with all due solemnities': cp. i. 84, note.

pignus imperii. In the popular mind, the duration of the Roman empire was bound up with the safety of the Capitoline temple. Cp. iv. 54, *nihil aeque quam incendium Capitolii ut finem imperii adesse crederent impulerat.* Hor. *Od.* iii., 30, *usque ego postera crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.*

6, 7. **Porsenna dedita urbe.** This does not tally with historical tradition; but it is supported by Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 14-39, *in foedere quod expulsis regibus populo R. dedit Porsenna, nominatim comprehensum invenimus, ne ferro nisi in agri cultu uterentur.* Here and elsewhere Tac. seems to follow authorities unknown to us: cp. his statement about Servius Tullius below.

8. **excindi**; on the construction *v.* 68 note.

8, 9. **civili bello**, the contest between Sulla and Marius. The Capitol was burnt Aug. 4, 83 B.C.; who set fire to it was unknown; hence *fraude privata. Fraus* is used here in its older sense of 'crime.'

10, 11. **quo tantae cladis, etc.** Orelli (after M) reads *quo tantae cladis pretio stetit? pro patria bellavimus? i.e.* what was there to compensate for the disaster?

13. **spe magis futurae magnitudinis.** Livy says very much the same thing, i. 38, *iam praesagiente animo futuram olim magnitudinem loci.*

14. **quam quo**; we should expect *quam quod;* but *quo* is used on the analogy of *non quo* (= not because).

15. **Tullius sociorum studio**; nothing further is known of this.

16. **Pometia**, in Latium, the capital of the Volsci.

17. **gloria operis**, M. Some editors read *gloria patrati operis.*

18. **H. Pulvillus**, iterum consul, 507 B.C.; Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch date the dedication two years earlier, in his first consulship.

21. **situm**, 'erected.' Only Tac. uses the word in this sense: cp. *A*. ii. 7, *aram Druso sitam.*

22. **quadring. quindecim**, 425 properly; in the original probably the number was in Roman figures (ccccxxv.), hence easily mistaken.

23. **curam**, sc. *curam operis.* Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. *sic est inchoatum Athenis templum Jovis Olympii, ex quo Sulla Capitolinis aedibus advexerat columnas.*

25. **felicitati.** Sulla took the title of Felix after his final triumph over Marius. Plin. *N. H.* vii. 43, *hoc tamen nempe felicitati suae deesse confessus est, quod Capitolium non dedicavisset.*

Catuli; son of the conqueror of the Cimbri. He dedicated the temple B.C. 69. Dio, xliii. 14, says that Julius Caesar ordered his own name to be substituted for that of Catulus in the dedicatory inscription; but Tac.'s statement to the contrary is plain.

26. **tanta Caes. opera**; *ta Caesarum* M, which may stand for either *tot* or *tanta: tanta* must mean something like *tam magnifica*, although Orelli says that this would not make sense. He reads *tot.*

LXXIII.

3. **ex diverso** = *ex adverso*, cp. 5.

4. **captus animi**, 'paralysed.' Cp. 58, *aeger animi*, ii. 23, *promptus animi.*

5. **non competere**, 'had not the use of.' Cp. *A*. iii. 46, *oppidani neque oculis neque auribus satis competebant.* Sallust also uses the word once in this sense.

11, 12. **cuncta sanguine**, etc., *sc.* all was a confused scene of slaughter: cp. Liv. i. 29, *omnia ferro flammaque miscet.* On *miscere v.* i. 38, note.

12, 13. **pauci militarium virorum**; the genitive appears to be one of definition; cp. 61, *paucos resistentium*, explained by Heräus as meaning 'a few who resisted': so 12 *paucis resistentium. Militares viri* are not 'military men,' but 'good soldiers,' 'soldierly men.'

14. **Pacensis** had been deprived by Galba of the tribunate of an urban cohort; reinstated by Otho, he was entrusted with a command in the force sent to Gallia Narbonensis. i. 20, 87; ii. 12.

17. **Qu. Atticum**, consul with Caecilius Simplex for November and December. i. 77.

17, 18. **umbra honoris**, 'the empty distinction.' Yet the consulship was an eagerly-coveted honour in the latest times, long after it had been stripped of all real importance.

18, 19. **edicta in populum** ('manifestoes') should probably be taken together: 'to scatter among the people' would require *inter populum.*

23. **signo**, 'the password.'

ultro; *v.* i. 7, note.

LXXIV.

2, 3. **lineo amictu**; apparently the *sacricolae* were worshippers of Isis, as Suetonius says that Domitian was *Isiaco celatus habitu*, and Juv. vi. 532, calls these *sacricolae* '*grex liniger*.' According to the doctrine of this cult, woollen clothing was unclean. It is noticeable that the rites of Isis seem to have gained so much ground in Rome as actually to be admitted to the Capitoline temple.

Dio, xlv. 17, simply says that Domitian and Sabinus the younger escaped from the Capitol and took refuge in a private house.

5. **Velabrum**, between the Forum, the Aventine, and the Tiber; *v.* i. 27.

5. **potienti**: for this word in the sense, 'to be in possession of,' cp. ii. 101, *potiente rerum Flavia domo.* It is found with this comparatively rare meaning in Cicero; cp. *pro Rosc. Am.* 70.

contubernio: cp. note on i. 43, where *publicus servus* is equivalent to the *aedituus* of the present passage.

7. **Iovi Conservatori.** Coins of Domitian bear the figure of Jupiter with the inscription, '*Iovi Conservatori sc.*' (i.e. *senatus consulto ?*): others, '*Iuppiter Conservator*,' or '*Iuppiter Custos.*' The temple dedicated *Iovi custodi* was on the Capitol near the hundred steps of the Tarpeian rock; Suet. *Dom.* 5.

7, 8. **casus ... expressam**, sc. *casus expressos repraesentantem.* Cp. Val. Fl. *Argon.* i. 491, *casusque tuos expressa, Phalere, arma geris;* and Virgil's *flores inscripti nomina regum.*

8. **exprimere** as applied to works of art means 'to mould in relief.'

13. **navatae**: *enouatae* M, whence al. *enavatae.* Cp. 16, *aviditate navandae operae.*

18. **Vitellium ... pervicere**: *pervincere* with *ut* rarely takes an object accusative. Cp. however, Liv. xlii. 45, *pervicerat Rhodios ut Romanorum societatem retinerent.*

17. **Gemonias**, sc. *scalas*, on the eastern slope of the Capitol, where it was customary to expose the bodies of criminals executed in the adjacent Tullianum; cp. 85.

LXXV.

2. **xxxv stipendia in rep. fecerat**, 'had served his country for thirty-five years.'

4. **sermonis nimius erat** probably means rather that he was boastful than merely talkative. For the genitive, cp. 73; Liv. vi. 11, *nimius animi.*

5. **xii quibus**, etc. Under Augustus and Tiberius the *praefectus urbi* only held office as the temporary representative of an absent emperor.

6. **calumniatus est**: as Tacitus expressly allows that *sermonis nimius erat*, there is no idea of false accusation in *calumniatus*: 'rumour could charge him with no other fault.'

8, 9. **inter omnes constiterit**: the perfect subj. seems to weaken the force of the assertion here and in ii. 76, *propius fuerit*. The meaning is, 'all will probably agree.' It appears to be a kind of conditional sentence with protasis suppressed.

12. **dirempta**, 'put an end to.' Cp. 81, *dirempta belli commercia*.

14. **sed** resumes the narrative interrupted at the end of 74.

15. **vicem reddens**, *i.e.* making Atticus a return for helping him out of a difficulty.

18, 19. **invidiam crimenque adgnovisse**: *sc.* recognized how odious a deed it was, and how real a ground of accusation. Heräus, however, compares it to *prospera adgnosceret* (52), so that thus *adgnovisse* would mean, 'took upon himself the responsibility.'

LXXVI.

2. **Feroniam**, an Italian goddess of freedom apparently; Liv. xxii. 1, the *libertinae* make her an offering. She had temples at Praeneste and on Soracte, and a third here spoken of, three miles from Tarracina. Cp. Hor. *Sat.* i. 5, *ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympha: milia tum pransi tria repimus atque subimus impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.* Perhaps we should read *apud Feroniae* on the analogy of *ad Martis* (Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* iii. 7) and similar phrases.

Tarracinae: cp. 57.

4. **egredi moenia.** Notice the silver age construction of *egredi* with an accusative.

8, 9. **noctu dieque.** Some edd. suggest *diuque*, but the alteration seems unnecessary.

9. **fluxi**, etc., 'roaming uncontrolled and waking the echoes of the beautiful coast.'

personantes is used transitively as in *Aen.* vi. 171, *forte cava dum personat aequora concha.*

LXXVII.

2. **praesidium** is used here in the sense of an armed force, as in 78 (*abscisis omnibus praesidiis*) and iv. 56, *pollicitus si praesidium daretur iturum in Batavos.*

3. **traditurum**: M has *tradi futurum*, which of course *respuit Latinitas* as Orelli says.

4. **summis montium iugis**: abl. of place without preposition. Cp. 48, *eodem latere sitam.*

6. **inermos,** M: early editions read *inermes.*

10, 11. **cuncta pari formidine implicabantur,** 'here too all was a bewildering scene of terror.' *implicari* is much the same as the more usual *misceri; v.* i. 38, note.

11. **paganis,** 'civilians,' as in 43.

14, 15. **ruentium.** Nipperdey proposed *irruentium*, but the alteration is unnecessary, as the simple verb is several times used by Tacitus with the idea of blind headlong haste. Cp. 82, *desperatione sola ruebant.* In earlier writers *ruere* generally means to fall rather than to hasten. But Cicero at least once uses it almost as a synonym of *furere*, as opposed to *consistere.* Cp. Phil. ii. 10.

16. **foedatus** = *foede laceratus.* Virgil uses *foedare* in this way; *Aen.* ii. 55, *ferro Argolicas foedare latebras;* iii. 241, *obscenas pelagi ferro foedare volucres.*

in ore: cp. 36.

18. **tamquam**: *v.* i. 8, note.

20. **lauream**: despatches of good import had a laurel leaf attached to them, while a feather is said by some to have been the sign of bad news (*v.* however Mayor's note on Juv. iv. 149, *anxia praecipiti venisset epistula pinna*). Cp. Pliny, *Paneg.* 8, *allata erat ex Pannovia laurea;* Plin. *N. H.* xv. 30, *laurus Romanis praecipue laetitiae victoriarumque nuntia additur litteris.*

22. **perdomandae Campaniae insistere,** 'to wait till he had reduced Campania.' Cp. a somewhat similar use of the word in ii. 46, *insistere spei.*

24. **recens victoria,** 'fresh from their victory,' 'flushed with success.' Earlier writers sometimes use *recens a* in this sense; so Varro says, *pullus a partu recens.* Cp. *Aen.* ix. 455, *recens caede locus.*

26. **haud parva mole certatum,** 'there would have been a desperate conflict.' For *moles* in the sense of difficulty (whence the use of *molior, v.* ii. 35, note) cp. 84, *plurimum molis in oppugnatione castrorum fuit; A.* iii. 78, *haud magna mole Piso promptus ferocibus in sententiam trahitur; Aen.* i. 33, *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.*

27. **infami**: he had been notorious as a *delator*: cp. 38, *datae L. Vitellio delationis partes.*

28. **quo modo** in sentences of comparison is often used by Tac. instead of *quemadmodum*, which is commoner in other authors; yet Cicero uses *quomodo* thus sometimes.

LXXVIII.

2, 3. **festos Saturni dies**, beginning Dec. 17.

3. **Ocriculum**, in Umbria, south of Narnia, near the confluence of Nar and Tiber.

3, 4. **causa ... ut**: cp. Cic. *pro Font.* 36, *magna causa absolutionis haec est, ne quae insignis huic imperio macula suscipiatur.*

13. **descivissent**, subjunctive expressing the motive alleged by the *duces* ('since, as they said,'—). *Videbatur* is in the indicative because the verb of thinking is now actually expressed and the subjunctive is thus no longer necessary. Heräus, however, says the difference of mood is simply an intentional irregularity.

16. **tres cohortes**, *praetorias.* As there were 16 praetorian cohorts (ii. 93), and 14 had taken the field (iii. 55), we must suppose that of these 14 Vitellius had brought one back to Rome with him as his escort (*v.* 56); so that after six had been detached under L. Vitellius seven would now be the force at Narnia. Nipperdey solves the difficulty by altering *quattuordecim* (55) to *tredecim.*

18. **haud facile**, etc.: cp. 28, note.

20. **praepostero**, 'ill-timed': the ablative and *dum* with the indicative here express the same thing—the reason why Antonius deserved blame. For *dum v.* note on ii. 21. *Invidiam* cannot well mean '*invidiam deusti Capitolii*,' for it was exactly this calamity which Tac. alleges to have been brought about by the delay of the Flavians and the possible quarrels of Antonius and Mucianus. All the delay is manifestly represented as preceding the conflagration.

22, 23. **finem eius insignivere**, 'made its end the more remarkable' by the burning of the Capitol, etc.

24. **transversis itineribus**, etc. Cerialis was to traverse by cross roads the Sabine country lying between the *via Flaminia* to the west and *via Salaria* to the east, and so enter the city by the latter route, through the Colline gate. Plin. *N. H.* xxxi. 7, says the *via Salaria* was so called because it was the route by which the Sabines brought home their salt from the city: not a convincing derivation.

LXXIX.

1. **Saxa rubra**, about nine miles from Rome, on the *via Flaminia.*

2. **multo noctis**: cp. *multa nocte*, 77; also *A.* ii. 21, *sero diei*, Liv. x. 32 and xxii. 45, *multum diei.*

10. **gnara**, in passive sense: cp. v. 17. It is thus used ten times in the Annals, apparently.

14, 15. **foeda fuga**, ablative of attendant circumstance: were there no adjective the construction would probably be *in fugam consternantur*, as in Liv. x. 43.

15. **Fidenas**, on the *via Salaria*, about five miles N.E. of Rome.

LXXX.

1, 2. **vulgus urbanum**, *i.e.* probably the population not included in the 35 tribes, as we hear (58) that Vitellius *vocari tribus iubet, dantes nomina sacramento adigit.* This *vulgus* would be largely composed of freedmen.

3. **quod cuique obvium**; the relative is in the singular to correspond with *cuique.*

6. **praetexto rei publicae**, 'on the ground of the public weal.'

10. **A. Rusticus**, *tribunus pl.* 66 A.D. had interceded on behalf of the Stoic Thrasea: he was put to death by Domitian's order in 94, apparently because he had eulogized Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus. A letter of Pliny's (i. 5) speaks of Rusticus as being called *Vitelliana cicatrice stigmosus*, an evident allusion to his wound.

11. **dignatio**, 'his known worth,' ἀξίωμα. Elsewhere it has rather the meaning of 'rank': cp. i. 19, 52.

12. **pulsantur.** M has *palantur.* Ritter would read *pelluntur.*

proximus lictor. The lictors walked before the consul or other magistrate in single file, and the nearest to the magistrate's person ranked highest. Cp. Liv. xxiv. 44, *consul animadvertere proximum lictorem iussit.*

LXXXI.

1. **Musonius Rufus**, spoken of *A.* xiv. 59 and xv. 71 as a Stoic teacher. He was one of those who carried their principles into politics and formed the only 'opposition,' if such it can be called, in the senate of this period.

2. **philosophiae**; generally Tac. avoids the Greek words *philosophia* and *philosophus* (although they may be said to have been naturalized since the Ciceronian period) in accordance with Cicero's own general principle of dispensing with Greek words where possible. Thus *philosophia* is said to be found only thrice in Tac., and then only to avoid repetition. Cp. his preference of *morbus pedum* to *podagra*, and the periphrastic description of a conically-shaped stone in ii. 3.

3. **aemulatus**, *sc.* a zealous advocate of Stoicism.

4. **disserens** followed by an accusative is only known to Cicero when the object is a neuter pronoun.

9. **epistulis**, 'a letter,' as elsewhere in Tac.

10. **eximi**, etc., 'he requested that the crisis should be postponed for a day.'

13, 14. **belli commercia**, an imitation of Virgil's *belli commercia Turnus sustulit ista prior iam tum Pallante perempto* (*A.* x. 532).

LXXXII.

2, 3. **pontem Mulvium**, over the Tiber, on the *via Flaminia*, two miles from Rome; where stands the modern Ponte Molle.

6. **consuleret** = *parceret.* Cp. *A.* iii. 46, *fugientibus consulite.*

9. **tripertito agmine**: the centre on the *via Flaminia*, the right and left wings on the Tiber bank and the *via Salaria* respectively.

13. **praesidiis**: cp. 77.

14. **varia**, *sc.* various in their results.

16. **conflictati**, 'seriously embarrassed.' Cp. 16.

17. **Sallustianos hortos**, grounds laid out by the historian Sallust and his adopted son; later they became imperial property. "They lay east of the *via Flaminia*, and west of the *collis hortorum*, the modern Pincian" (Heräus); more accurately, in the valley between the Pincian and Quirinal. Till recently, at any rate, considerable remains of Sallust's house were in existence. Cp. Middleton, pp. 405 *seqq.*

20, 21. **donec ... circumvenirentur**; on the subjunctive, *v.* note on 28.

22. **in campo Martio**: whither the centre and right of the Flavian troops would naturally tend.

24. **quamquam pulsi**; cp. i. 43, note.

LXXXIII.

2. **ludicro certamine** = a sham fight.

hos, rursus illos = *modo hos, modo illos;* the same expression, 22. Some MSS. have *hos modo, rursus illos*, but *modo* seems to be interpolated.

3. **fovebat**, 'encouraged.' Cp. among other instances, i. 8, *metu tamquam alias partes fovissent.*

inclinasset. Tacitus appears to use *quotiens* with either indicative or subjunctive; cp. i. 10, *quotiens expedierat.* Generally speaking, writers of the silver age prefer the subjunctive in clauses expressing indefinite frequency, where Cicero and Caesar would use the indicative.

4. **tabernis**, shops in the basements of houses, more especially of the blocks of lodging-houses (*insulae*).

5. **erui ... expostulantes**; cp. i. 82, *ostendi expostulantes.*

8. **facies**, 'aspect.' ii. 89, *decora facies.*

10. **scortis similes**, *exoleti.*

11. **captivitate**, 'taking.' Cp. 70.

12. **crederes**, 'one would have thought.' Cp. i. 10, *palam laudares*, 'one would have praised.'

14. **bis L. Sulla**, 88 and 82 B.C.

semel Cinna, 87 B.C.

15. **inhumana**, 'unnatural.' Cp. ii. 70.

16. **minimo temporis**; cp. 79, *multo noctis.*

17. **festis diebus**, the *Saturnalia*, 'as if the fighting were only another carnival amusement.'

18. **fruebantur** is used absolutely, as in Plin. *Paneg.* 34, *agnoscebamus et fruebamur.*

LXXXIV.

1. **plurimum molis**, cp. note on 77.

1, 2. **castrorum**, the praetorian camp, to the left of the approach to the city by the *via Salaria.*

3, 4. **veterum cohortium**: the praetorians dismissed by Vitellius (ii. 67) who had taken service under Vespasian (ii. 82).

5. **testudinem**. Probably what is meant here is a movable shed, "a military machine moving upon wheels, and roofed over, used in besieging cities, under which the soldiers worked in undermining the walls or otherwise destroying them"; *Dict. of Antiq.* According to the same authority, "the name was also applied to the covering made by a close body of soldiers who placed their shields over their heads to secure themselves against the darts of the enemy." This would be the *testudo* of iii. 27 and 28 (a 'Schilddach' as Orelli says, while the shed in the present passage is a 'Schutzdach').

7. **hausissent** = *perfuncti essent*. Cp. the Greek use of ἀντλεῖν in the same sense.

consummari, *sc.* this was the goal of all their labours.

12. **inquietare**, 'mar.'

14. **amplectebantur**. It would be better to punctuate after *foedare*, making the imperfect describe in a word the whole scene of which the historic infinitives give the details; it seems very harsh to construct *inquietare* etc., as infinitives after *amplectebantur*. Orelli says, *depingit ultimum ac desperatum Vitellianorum furorem, dicens, ad ultimum sine causa ab iis homines obtruncatos horumque cruore domos atque etiam aras foedatas esse, quibus facinoribus cladem suam quasi solati sint;* but the meaning seems to be simply that the soldiers found their one consolation in dying hard in defence of their homes.

17. **contrariis vulneribus**, 'with their wounds in front.' Cp. Liv. ii. 6, *contrario ictu per parmam uterque transfixus*. With the next words one may compare Euripides' description of the death of Polyxena, πολλὴν πρόνοιαν εἶχεν εὐσχήμως πεσεῖν.

Dio (lxv. 19) says that 50,000 men fell in the fighting of these days; considering the number of combatants, this looks like an exaggeration.

20. **per aversam Palatii partem**, 'through the back of the Palatium,' or perhaps through the *Tiberiana domus*, which lay behind the Palatium, and on the opposite side to the part of the city where most of the fighting would be going on. Cp. i. 27.

21. **Aventinum** is said by Heräus to be a gloss, based on 70 *Aventinum, et penates uxoris*, and certainly we should expect *in Aventinum*.

in domum uxoris. Suetonius, however (Vit. 16) calls it *paterna domus.* He says that Vitellius was accompanied by his baker and cook.

22. **diem,** 'the dangers of daylight.'

27. **terret solitudo**; cp. Virg. *Aen.* ii. 755, *ipsa silentia terrent.*

29. **pudenda latebra.** Suetonius (Vit. 16) says, *confugit in cellam ianitoris, religato pro foribus cane lectoque et culcita objectis.* Dio, lxv. 20 makes the *latebra* a dog kennel (οἴκημα σκοτεινὸν ἐν ᾧ ἐτρέφοντο κύνες.

34. **obvius e Germanicis,** etc. According to Dio, the soldier, a Gaul, tried to kill Vitellius, to save him from insults: he wounded the emperor, and at once killed himself; lxv. 21.

35, 36. **vel quo .. eximeret** is co-ordinate with *per iram*, and the two together belong to the first limb of the indirect question.

37. **in incerto.** Cp. the same expression, i. 37, and ii. 45, *in ambiguo.*

LXXXV.

2, 3. **cadentes statuas suas**: cp. the description of Sejanus' fall, Juv. x. 56, *seqq.* The two passages may be well read together.

3. **rostra,** whence Vitellius had addressed the people (68).

Galbae occisi locum, near the *lacus Curtii* (i. 41).

4. **Gemonias**: cp. 74.

LXXXVI.

1. **Luceria,** in Apulia, west of Arpi, now Lucera. *Nuceriae* in Suet. Vit. i. should probably be corrected to *Luceriae.*

2. **explebat;** he was put to death Dec. 20, 69. Dio, lxv. 22 makes him 54.

4. **patris**: cp. 66.

7, 8. **perinde .. quam,** instead of the more usual *perinde ac:* cp. iv. 2.

9, 10. **ni adsit ... vertuntur**; as *vertuntur* expresses that the change is usual or likely to take place, and does not denote any particular occurrence, the indicative can be used to answer the subjunctive *adsit*. Cp. Plin. *Ep.* i. 8, *nec si casu aliquo non sequatur* (*gloria*), *idcirco, quod gloriam meruit, minus pulcrum est.*

11. **contineri**: cp. i. 84, note on *res militares continentur.*

12. **meruit**, 'deserved,' as in 78 (*crimen meruit*).

rei publicae, etc. The sense is: no doubt it was better for the country that Vitellius should fall; at the same time those who betrayed him cannot claim to have acted on this ground—cannot call themselves true patriots—if they had also betrayed Galba, whose rule was really beneficial to Rome. Such would be Caecina and Bassus; ii. 100. On *imputare* ('make a merit of') *v.* i. 38, note.

16. **die**, poetical equivalent of 'sole.'

20. **Caesarem**, till Hadrian's time the title borne by sons of the reigning emperor.

22. **deduxit**: the soldiers escort Domitian home, just as in republican times the successful candidate for office was accompanied to his house by a throng of friends. The custom survives, but the citizen is superseded by the soldier.

LIBER IV.

[Ch. 1-37, close of 69 A.D. 38-86, events of the following year, under the second consulate of Vespasian and first of Titus.]

I.

5. **trucidatis**: for this abl. abs. not in agreement with any definite person, cp. i. 85, *animum vultumque conversis.*

7. **procerum habitu et iuventa** = *procerum habitu iuvenem*: it would be assumed that tall young men were Germans who had served in Vitellius' auxiliary cohorts. On the stature of the Germans cp. v. 14: *Germanos proceritas corporum extollit.*

8. **populi**, sc. *togatorum.*

10. **verterat**: Heräus and Orelli think the pluperfect indicates the rapidity of the change (cp. ii. 73, *proruperant* and note): but this is not necessary; the tense expresses the motive, which is naturally anterior to the act (*nihil usquam secretum aut clausum sinebant*).

13. **si resisteretur**: cp note on i. 49, *si mali forent*.

13, 14. **nec deerat ... prodere**: so iii. 58, *nec deerat ipse = dicere*. For the various constructions with *nec deerat*, *v.* note on i. 23.

ultro: *v.* note on i. 7.

16. **et fortuna**: *et* is interposed because *fortuna* is not merely another item but a general summing-up of the situation. One MS. has *forma*, which gives perhaps a better sense, but there can be no doubt that *fortuna* is right.

19 **temperandae victoriae impares**, 'unable to make a moderate use of their victory': cp. Cic. *pro Marc.* 8, *victoriam temperare*.

21. **pax et quies**: *i.e.*, it is only in peace that *bonae artes* find a field.

II.

1. **sedem Caesaris**, the Palatium; cp. iii. 86. This sentence is somewhat complicated by what Orelli calls Tacitus' contempt of the commonplace. We should expect the adversative part to begin at *nondum* (*sed nondum*, etc.), or else to have a participle instead of *agebat*: cp. 28, *nec quievere Ubii quo minus praedas e Germania peterent, primo impune, dein circumventi sunt;* where *primo impune* stands in the same loose connection with the first part of the sentence as *nondum ad curas intentus* in the present passage.

3. **agebat**, 'played the part of': cp. i. 30, *cum amicum imperatoris ageret.*

praetorii: the praetorian cohorts were reduced by Vespasian to their former number, nine.

10. **reliqua belli**: cp. the same expression, 51.

11. **Ariciam**: cp. iii. 36.

12. **intra Bovillas stetit**, 'did not advance beyond Bovillae,' a town on the Appian way, ten miles from Rome.

23. **prosperis** is a kind of abl. abs. For the use of the neuter cp. the same word in iii. 64.

23. **adversis abstractus**, 'hurried to his ruin by (his brother's) misfortunes': cp. *A*. iv. 13, *paternis adversis abstractus*.

III.

1. **Bassus** had betrayed one of the fleets to Vespasian : iii. 12.

3. **municipiorum**, all the towns, not only *municipia* properly so called : cp. note on iii. 34.

5. **Capuae**, which had remained loyal to Vitellius (iii. 57), while Tarracina had declared for Vespasian.

8. **vicem exsolvere**, to repay. Cp. iii. 75, *vicem reddens*.

11. **diximus** : iii. 77.

12. **in isdem anulis**, the sign of equestrian rank. Cp. i. 13, ii. 57.

13, 14. **cuncta principibus solita** : for the dative, cp. 13, *barbaris solitum ;* v. 8, *solita regibus*. Virgil uses the same construction, *A*. xi. 383. On the powers ordinarily decreed to the *princeps*, *v.* i. 47, *decernitur Othoni tribunicia potestas et nomen Augusti et omnes principum honores* : and ii. 55 on Vitellius' accession. The usual decree would confer on the emperor the tribunician power, title of Augustus, and *proconsulare imperium*. See also Furneaux' introduction to his ed. of Annals i-vi.

On the present occasion the *Senatus consultum* must have been closely followed by the *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani*, of which a large part is preserved fn the Capitoline Museum at Rome.

15. **Gallias**, etc. Almost every province of the empire had had its share in the wars of the last eighteen months : Galba and Vindex had led the armies of Gaul and Spain ; Vitellius' starting point had been the Rhine, Antonius' Illyricum, and Vespasian's the provinces of the East.

21. **ea prima specie forma.** Vespasian's letter must have been written after the fall of Cremona, but before the death of Vitellius : hence he writes in the tone of a general whose enemy is still before him, but who is morally certain of victory, and so entitled to speak as though the prize were within his grasp.

22. **civilia**, *i.e.* without undue assumption.

23. **nec senatus obsequium deerat**: *senatus* is a subjective genitive. Several French translators have entirely mistaken the sense, one rendering *parlant du sénat avec déference.*

24. **praetura**, urbana: cp. Suet. Dom. i. *honorem praeturae urbanae consulari potestate suscepit titulo tenus; nam jurisdictionem ad collegam proximum transtulit.* Dom. no doubt received the *consulare imperium* on account of the absence of the two real consuls, his father and brother. The passage is excellently illustrated by a coin which bears on one side the head of Vespasian with the inscr. IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG., and on the other those of Titus and Domitian with their respective titles of consul and praetor.

IV.

3. **publice loqueretur**, *i.e.* address the state council on matters of state. It was not customary for anyone except the emperor to address an official letter to the consuls or senate. Provincial governors must have written despatches relating to their provinces; but Mucianus' letter I suppose referred to the general political situation. Cp. ii. 55, *gratior Caecinae modestia fuit, quia non scripsisset* (ad senatum).

loqueretur: the question being only "rhetorical" we should expect the accus. and infin.; but cp. 62, *qui dux viae.*

4. **loco sententiae**, as we should say, 'from his place in the house.' When asked for his *sententia* on any matter he might *egredi relationem* and say what he wished.

9. **erant**: the plural in such cases is usual in Tacitus. Cp. note on *inridebant*, ii. 30.

10, 11. **triumphalia**, sub. *insignia*: *v.* note on i. 79.

11. **bello civium** = *bello civili.*

Sarmatas: a Roman general could not have a *triumphus* for a victory over his countrymen, so the senate had to fall back on the repulse of the Dacian raid described iii. 46.

12. **consularia**: cp. *consularia ornamenta*, i. 79. *Consularis* "under the empire became a mere title for the higher class of officers, who thereby obtained permission to have the insignia of a consul without ever having actually been consuls," *Dict of Antiq.* Thus it was the regular title in later times for the governors of imperial provinces.

15. **Val. Asiaticus**, Vitellius' son-in-law: i. 59.

15, 16. **consul designatus**: according to Suet. *Vit.* 11, Vitellius himself was *consul perpetuus designatus;* there could thus of course only be one consul-elect besides the emperor. Asiaticus had apparently been elected to take office at the beginning of the year 70.

The procedure in the Senate follows the ordinary practice; the *consules designati* give their vote first. Cp. *e.g.* Cic. *Phil.* v. 35.

16. **manuque**: cp. Vopisc. Aurel. 20, *aliis manum porrigentibus, aliis pedibus in sententiam euntibus.*

19. **praet. design.**: *consulares* would vote before *praetores designati,* who would be followed by *praetorii.*

21. **principem ... falsa aberant.** One MS. shows signs of a word being lost after *principem;* hence some edd. read *ita falsa aberant*, but the change of construction (*ita falsa aberant* = *falsis carentem*) would be very harsh.

V.

1. **iterum**: the first mention is in ii. 91.

2. **viri saepius memorandi**: the story of Helvidius' banishment and death was probably told in one of the books now lost. Boissier (*Opposition sous les Césars*) has some interesting pages on the Stoics of whom Helvidius and Thrasea were the most prominent figures. According to his view the critical, if not actually hostile, position assumed by the Stoics towards the government of their day was based rather on a difference of moral than of political ideal. Stoicism did not necessarily regret the Republic; what it denounced was the badness of individual emperors, not the imperial system. Indeed according to its strict doctrine the ideal government would be the rule of a perfectly good despot.

4. **origine**, etc.: Halm's correction of the MS. *regione Italiae Carecinae municipio Cluvios patrê.* Heräus and Wolff read *origine Caracina e municipio Cluviano, patre;* Orelli (otherwise with MS.) *Cluvio patre;* but there is nothing to justify this. *Regione Italiae* certainly looks like a gloss. The Caracini were Samnites, settled round Aufidena; Cluviae, a town near Bovianum.

5. **patre**: cp. *A.* iii. 75, *Capito ... patre praetorio;* and Virgil's *Euneus Clytio patre.*

5, 6. **ordinem duxisset**: *sc.* had been a centurion. The subjunctive is used because the relative clause takes the place of a predicative substantive (*e.g. primi pili centurione*). Cp. i. 10, note on *et cui*.

7. **altioribus studiis**, *sc.* philosophy as distinguished from the *studia civilia* of the bar and senate.

12. **cetera extra animum**, 'all external things,' as well even *bona corporis* (health, etc.) as *res extraneae* more properly so called—friends, wealth, and so forth.

13. **quaestorius**: he was *quaestor* of Achaia under Nero. A man of the same name and possibly identical with the Stoic was *legatus legionis* in 51 (*A.* xii. 49), and subsequently *tribunus plebis* (*A.* xiii. 29).

14. **Thrasea**: *v.* note on ii. 91, and Mayor's note on Juv. v. 36. For his death, *v. A.* xvi. 33.

15. **hausit**: cp. Agric. 4, *studium philosophiae acrius hausisse.*

17. **metus**: *metum* would be the subjective feeling, while the plural expresses rather the objective causes of fear. Cp. ii. 12.

VI.

2. **Sapientibus**: for the dative cp. 2, *saeptus armatis*, and note on i. 11, *procuratoribus*. *Novissima*, "the last infirmity of noble minds": cp. *Agric.* 9, *fama cui saepe etiam boni indulgent*. *Epict.* 33, ἔσχατος λέγεται τῶν παθῶν χιτὼν ἡ φιλοδοξία· διότι τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις δι' αὐτὴν ἀποδυομένων αὕτη προσίσχεται μᾶλλον τῇ ψυχῇ.

3. **in exsilium pulsus**: technically his punishment was *relegatio*, not *exsilium* in the special sense, which implied outlawry. Helvidius was only forbidden to reside in Italy and retired to Apollonia (Schol. on Juv. v. 36). But *exsilium* is often used in the wider sense to include every form of banishment, and does not necessarily imply the loss of civil status.

4. **Eprium**: *v.* on ii. 53.

6. **in studia diduxerat** 'split into opposite parties,' as in ii. 68.

8. **sternebantur**: the meaning of the imperfect is, that a number of persons were likely to be involved in Eprius' fall = 'his fall meant ruin to a crowd of offenders' (apparently the meaning of *rei* here, although in Cicero it only means 'accused').

9. **egregiis utriusque orationibus**: no doubt the speeches would be accessible to Tacitus, or at least they would survive in living memory.

14. **eo senatus die**: a good day's work: yet we need not suppose that the passing of the decree respecting Vespasian's imperium occupied much time, seeing that the powers conferred were probably identical with those granted to former emperors. Moreover the senate had already ratified three accessions within the last twelve months. *Ceterum* resumes the interrupted narrative, like *δ' οὖν* in Greek.

17. **a magistr. iuratis**: *sc.* by the consuls, who swore to choose honestly.

VII.

1. **rubor**, a picturesque equivalent for 'shame': one might paraphrase by 'personal vanity.'

3. **altercationem**: Cicero writes of such an *altercatio* with his old enemy Clodius. Here it is opposed to *continua oratio*, as in Liv. iv. 6, *cum res a perpetuis orationibus in altercationem vertisset.*

6. **quis multos anteiret**: and so might expect to be selected.

13. **aures imbuant**, 'accustom him to hear': cp. iii. 15, *imbueretur.*

14. **Sorano**, Barea Soranus, cons. design. 52: for other notices of him, cp. 10, 40, *A.* xvi. 21, 23 *seqq.* According to the last reference Nero *virtutem ipsam excindere concupivit, interfecto Thrasea Paeto et Barea Sorano*: and the story of their defence and death is told in the concluding chapters of *A.* xvi. Nothing is known of Sentius, apparently.

18. **instrumentum**: so in i. 22 the astrologers are called '*pessimum principalis matrimonii instrumentum*,' the vilest furniture of the palace.

21. **praemiis**: Eprius received 5 million sesterces for his prosecution of Thrasea (*A.* xvi. 33).

Notice the rhetorical turns in this chapter: such as the use of *anaphora* (*e.g.* the repetition of *pertinere*) and of synonyms, *sorte et urna*, etc.

VIII.

3. **vetera exempla**: Cic. *ad Att.* i. 19, mentions the choosing by lot of envoys to be sent into Gaul. Cp. Dio Cass. lix. 23, *πρέσβεις τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἄλλους κλήρῳ καὶ τὸν Κλαύδιον αἱρετὸν ἔπεμψαν.*

4. **ambitioni**, 'intrigue.'

6, 7. **sufficere omnes obsequio**, 'anyone was good enough to do homage to the emperor.'

11. **civitatis formam**: not the republic, but the empire: as indeed is shown by *instituerint*.

15. **per eius modi imagines inlusisse**, 'had mocked (the senate) with such idle forms' as a regular trial: Marcellus represents himself as the slave of circumstances.

16. **aliis**, such as Helvidius.

18. **se unum esse**, etc.: *sc.* he was in the same case as his neighbours. Cp. iii. 70, *unum e senatoribus*.

20, 21. **senem triumphalem**: Vespasian was 59 years old: he had won *triumphalia insignia* as commander of a legion in Britain under Claudius.

22, 23. **sine fine dominationem**, 'absolute sovereignty': cp. iii. 8, *sine luctu victoriam*.

25. **diversis studiis accipiebantur**, 'found eager partisans on both sides.'

26. **mediis**, the middle party, those who were indifferent: cp. *medii ac plurimi*, i. 19.

IX.

2. **tum a praetoribus**: not, as in Tacitus' own time, by the two *praefecti aerarii Saturni*. Cp. Suet. *Claud.* 24, *collegio quaestorum curam aerarii Saturni reddidit, quam medio tempore praetores aut uti nunc praetura functi sustinuerant.* The administration of the treasury—since 28 B.C., when it was separated from the quaetorship and entrusted to two *praefecti aerarii* who were chosen by the senate from the *praetorii*—had undergone various changes. In 23 B.C., Augustus caused two praetors to be chosen by lot, who bore the title *praetorii aerarii*: this system lasted till the reign of Claudius, who in 44 (*v. sup.*) restored the aerarium to the quaestors: these officers were to administer it for three years and then to take rank as praetors, without passing through the otherwise necessary stages of the aedileship and tribunate.

Under Nero the office was again held by *praefecti*, named by the emperor himself from the *praetorii:* and after his death, by *praetores*, as the present passage shows. Finally, Nerva or Trajan restored the Neronian system.

5. **reservabat**, 'was in favour of reserving it.'

6. **perrogarent**, *sc.* asking each senator for his vote: cp. Liv. xxix. 19, *perrogari eo die sententiae non potuerunt.*

12. **oblivio** looks much more like an ablative than a nominative: and is better taken as the former case, although it is true that the singular form *oblivium* is nowhere else found, and even the plural generally in poetry. Madvig and Nipperdey would read *oblivione.*

meminissent: some remembered Helvidius' proposal—by which Vespasian would only have played a secondary part in the restoration—and informed the emperor of it.

X.

1. **P. Celerem**, P. Egnatius Celer; *v. A.* xvi. 32, and Juv. iii. 116, *Stoicus occidit Baream delator, amicum | discipulumque senex, ripa nutritus in illa | ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est pinna caballi.* Tac. describes him as a kind of Tartufe: *habitu et ore ad exprimendam honesti imaginem exercitus, ceterum animo perfidiosus, subdolus, avaritiam ac libidinem occultans.* He was a native of Berytus (or Tarsus, according to Juvenal).

3. **ea cognitione, etc.**: *sc.* although the prosecution was thought to be an unadvisable reopening of old wounds, still no one sympathised with Celer. Under the empire the senate could try criminal cases, especially such as concerned members of its own body: cp. for instance the case of Libo in *A.* ii. and Piso in *A.* iii. In such trials the form of the ordinary praetor's court was really preserved: the consul represented the presiding praetor, and the senate the judex or judices.

7. **proditor corruptorque, etc.**: 'had betrayed and outraged that friendship which he professed to teach.'

8. **dies**, *sc.* day of meeting: cp. 40, when the case actually comes on.

XI.

7. **offensis**, 'strained relations.'

8. **nec deerat**: *v.* i. 23, note.

10. **incessu**, here, not 'gait,' but mien or behaviour in general.

11. **nomen remittere**, 'while he did not claim the title'; cp. iii. 58, *remisit*.

12. **C. Pisonis**, who had conspired against Nero: *A*. xv. 48.

15, 16. **qui princ. inanem ei famam circumdarent**, 'talked idly of his elevation to the throne': cp. Dial. 37, *hanc illi famam circumdederunt*: and Greek phrases such as *περιτιθέναι τινι ἀτιμίαν*.

20. **Priscus**: ii. 92: A. Varus, iii. 36. They had deserted the forces under their command at Narnia (61).

23. **Asiaticus**: cp. ii. 57 and 95.

24. **servili supplicio**; *sc.* he was crucified. Cp. ii. 72.

XII.

1, 2. **crebrescentem famam**: the revolt is first mentioned iii. 46.

2. **nequaquam maesta**: because the defeats of the forces in Germany deprived the Vitellians of their last hope.

4. **loquebantur** is used with an object accusative also in i. 50.

5. **externarum**: Cicero would say *externi mores*, but *exterae gentes*.

6, 7. **altius expediam**: a poetical phrase borrowed perhaps from Virgil.

Cp. *Georg*. iv. 286, *altius omnem expediam prima repetens ab origine famam*.

8. **Chattorum**, on whom v. *Germ*. 30, 31. They seem to have been settled somewhere near the modern Waldeck, about the Eder and Werra. They were skilled in the arts of war: Tac. says of them (l. c.) *alios ad praelium ire videas, Chattos ad bellum*.

8, 9. **extrema Gallicae orae**, the left bank of the Waal and Meuse, down to the sea.

9, 10. **insulam iuxta sitam**. This is the *insula Batavorum* described by Tac. *A*. ii. 6: the delta bounded on the north by the Rhine, on the south by the Waal and Meuse. There is a picturesque description of the Batavi and their early settlements in the first pages of Motley's Dutch Republic.

11. **Rhenus amnis**; more properly *Rhenus et Vahalis*.

tergum ac latera following *quam* are accusatives of closer definition, a Greek construction: cf. Τρῶας τρόμος αἰνὸς ὑπήλυθε γυῖα ἕκαστον.

12. **opibus**, etc. M has *opibus Romanis, societate validiorum.*

14. **per Britanniam.** In 61 A.D. eight Batavian cohorts were serving in Britain under Suetonius Paulinus (*A.* xiv. 38): these are the *octo Batavorum cohortes quartae decimae legionis auxilia*, alluded to as being in Gaul *H.* i. 59.

16. **erat**, etc. The infinitive depends on *nandi studio;* swimmers so keen as to cross, etc. Dübner notices the similar French use of the infinitive: *nageurs à passer*, etc. It is possible to punctuate after *eques* and make *perrumpere* historic infinitive.

XIII.

1. **Civilis**: v. Introd.

2. **F. Capito**: governor of Lower Germany in 68: cp. i. 7. 58.

3. **falso rebellionis crimine**, perhaps on the occasion of Vindex' rising in Gaul.

5. **discrimen adiit**: cp. i. 59, *Julius deinde Civilis periculo exemptus, praepotens inter Batavos, ne supplicio ejus ferox gens alienaretur* (a causa Vitellii).

7. **ultra quam barbaris solitum**: cp. ii. 91, note. For the dative cp. 3, *solita principibus.*

This long string of epithets and dependent clauses would in English resolve itself probably into three separate sentences, as there is no real logical connection between its several parts.

9. **dehonestamento**: he had lost an eye, like Hannibal and Sertorius.

12. **Antonii litteris**: cp. 32, *lectae pro contione epistulae Antonii ad Civilem suspiciones militum irritavere, tamquam ad socium partium scriptae et de Germ. exercitu hostiliter.* v. 26, *hoc Antonio notum, cujus epistulis ad bellum actus sum.*

13. **accita**: cp. ii. 97.

tumultus properly means a war in Italy or Cisalpine Gaul: that this was the early meaning of the word Cicero expressly says, *Phil.* 8. 3. Yet even in Cicero's time it was gradually coming into use to describe a war against invaders of any part of the Roman dominions: *ad Fam.* xv. 1, he speaks of *magnus tumultus in provincia Syria excitatus.*

15. **H. Flaccus**, governor of Upper Germany (i. 9). Vitellius had charged him with the defence of the Rhine bank (ii. 57).

17, 18. **adventabat, si ... inrupissent**: was approaching and would have actually come had the legions reached Italy. cp. iii. 46, *excindere parabant ni Mucianus sextam legionem opposuisset*, and Cic. *Leg.* i. 19. *labebar longius nisi me retinuissem.*

17. **si redintegratum**, sc. *esset:* cp. note on i. 21 (*dum Galbae auctoritas fluxa*).

XIV.

1. **desciscendi certus**: cp. *e.g. A.* iv. 34, *relinquendae vitae certus:* perhaps an imitation of *Aen.* iv. 554, *certus eundi.*

2. **altiore consilio.** It seems probable that Civilis aimed at something more than the restoration of Batavian independence, from 17, *validissimarum ditissimarumque nationum regno imminebat*, and 61, *si certandum adversus Gallos de possessione rerum foret.*

5. **onerabant**, 'made it more oppressive': cp. a similar use of the word, ii. 52.

6. **rursus**, 'besides,' as in i. 1, *rursus odio.*

7. **inpubes**, as iii. 25, *inpubem*: earlier writers would say *impuberes.*

11. **specie epularum**: cp. *Germ.* 22, *de pace ac bello plerumque in conviviis consultant.*

12, 13. **nocte ac laetitia**, hendiadys: 'the revelry of the evening.' Cp. *A.* xiii. 15, *nox et lascivia. Aen.* i., *munera laetitiamque dei.*

15. **societatem**, abstract for concrete, = *neque enim socios se esse.*

16. **quando legatum**, etc., *sc.* they were never even honoured by the presence of a *legatus* (though even then the honour was balanced by the concomitant tyranny). The imperial provinces were governed by *legati Caesaris pro praetore.*

18. **praefectis**: districts within imperial provinces were administered by *praefecti ;* cp. *A.* iv. 72, *Olennius e primipilaribus regendis Frisiis impositus.*

19. **novos sinus**, etc.: they still devised new pockets to fill, and different names to justify robbery. On *sinus* cp. ii. 92, note on *ambitiosos sinus.*

21. **velut supremum** = to meet no more: lit., as though for the last time; the recruit bids farewell to his family as though to the dead. Cp. *Aen.* iii. 68, *magna supremum voce ciemus.* For the adverbial use of the neuter, cp. *A.* iii. 26, *aeternum mansere.*

23. **senes**, of course an exaggeration: cp. ii. 57, *pauci veterum militum in hibernis relicti.* It is not likely that any of the rank and file were old men, properly speaking.

24. **inania legionum nomina**, either = legions which are so only in name, or "legions crippled by the vacancies in their ranks" (lit., the vacancies of the legions), in which case *nomina* is used in the same technical way as in ii. 57, *ut legionum nomina supplerentur.*
The first rendering is the best: more especially since, as a matter of fact, the vacancies in the ranks had been filled up (cp. 15, *segnem numerum armis oneraverat*), only they were filled by raw recruits. Vitellius had taken 40,000 men from the army of the Lower Rhine alone when marching to Italy: cp. i. 61.

25. **pavescerent**: cp. iii. 56, *vulnus pavens.*

27. **ne R. quidem**: that is, the Flavian party, who would be glad to see the attention of the Vitellian legions distracted.

cuius ambiguam, etc. The sense is: should the Batavians be worsted (*ambig. fort.* is meiosis for 'failure'), at least they could make a merit of the service they attempted to render Vespasian. Should they succeed, their independence would be vindicated, and they need give an account of their actions to no one. The subject of *imputaturos* (on which v. 1. 38, note) is *Batavos* understood; some make it *Romanos*, which gives no satisfactory sense. Thierry (*Histoire des Gaulois* 3) renders the passage: *Vaincus, nous en ferons un mérite auprès de Vespasien; vainqueurs, qui viendra nous demander des comptes?*

XV.

2. **patriis exsecrationibus.** According to Grimm's *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer* (quoted by Orelli), anything was good enough for a German to swear by; they swore *per deos, per sancta pignora, per humum, gramen, arbores, aquas, fontes, fluvios, montes, rupes, lapides, pectus, barbam, capillos, caput, vestimenta, plerumque per arma et praecipue gladium.*

adigit. *Exsecrationibus* takes the place of the *sacramento* or *jurejurando*, which usually follows this word.

3. **Canninefates**, whose settlements were W. of those of the Batavians, in the lower part of the insula, and also on the N bank of the Rhine. They are mentioned as serving in the Roman army, *A.* iv. 73. In inscriptions the name is usually *Cannunefates.*

6. **Britannica auxilia**: the eight Batavian cohorts sent away from Ticinum (ii. 69): they had served in Britain. Cp. note on *per Britanniam* (12).

7. **Mogontiacum**, Mainz.

10, 11. **Gaianarum expeditionum**: cp. *Germ.* 37, *ingentes Gai Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae; Agr.* 13, *ni ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus* (Gai Caesaris) *frustra fuissent.* Suet. Cal. 43-47. According to the story, as a finale to his expedition, Caligula halted his army in full battle array on the sea-coast of N. Germany, and ordered them to pick up shells as trophies.

12, 13. **inpositus scuto**: an ancient German custom, in vogue also among the Franks and Goths, and in late imperial times among the Romans. Zosimus (3. 9. 4) says it was practised at the election of Julian; *ἐπί τινος ἀσπίδος μετέωρον ἄραντες ἀντεῖπον σεβαστὸν αὐτοκράτορα.*

15. **cohortium**: prob. of Gallic auxiliaries, acc. to 17.

occupatum: M *occupata.* Other readings are *occupatu* and *accubantia Oceano.*

16. **Oceano**, 'by way of the ocean,' *i.e.* along the coast. Cp. i. 61, *Cottianis Alpibus Italiam inrumpere.*

20, 21. **excidiis castellorum imminebant**, 'threatened the destruction of the forts.'

22. **signa vexillaque**: each maniple had a *signum*, while the cohort had a *vexillum.* Cp. the same expression ii. 18.

26. **Nerviorum**, a people settled on the banks of the Sambre, in the modern provinces of Hennegau and Namur. Acc. to *Germ.* 28, they claimed a German origin.

Germanorumque is reading in M, but does not look right: hence Her. reads *Tungrorum* (the people about Tongres), as they are afterwards mentioned.

XVI.

1. **ultro**, *sc.* he was not content with mere neutrality, but actually professed to take up arms for the Romans. Cp. i. 7, note.

3. **cui praeerat**: the indicative is used because the parenthesis is Tacitus' explanation, not Civilis': *v.* Dräger. 151.

10. **parum cessere**, 'failed of their object.'

11. **propriis cuneis**: *i.e.* the contingents of various nationalities were not mixed, but ranked separately on the field. So in 23, *Batavi Transrhenanique ... sibi quaeque gens consistunt.*

According to Vegetius the technical military meaning of *cuneus* is a wedge-shaped column; but Tacitus probably uses it here and elsewhere for columnar—as opposed to line—formation in general.

12. **ex diverso**, 'opposite to him': cp. 3. 5.

haud procul, etc. The battle doubtless took place in the eastern part of the *insula*: cp. 15, *in superiorem partem insulae congregantur.* The Roman ships were either in the Rhine or the Waal (for Tacitus speaks of both branches as *Rhenus amnis* in 12), with their prows facing the enemy: when the engagement had begun, the Batavian crews overpowered their Roman comrades and ran the vessels ashore on the part of the bank which was held by Civilis' forces (*hostili ripae obicere*).

13. **Et** co-ordinates the ablative of attendant circumstances with the adverbial *haud procul in flumine Rheno*: cp. *A.* xv. 12, *interritus et parte copiarum apud Suriam relicta.*

14. **nec** goes with the participle, not with the finite verb: cp. note on i. 71, and *neque enim ambigue fremebant*, 24.

18. **officia**: cp. *A.* ii. 23, *officia prudentium corrumpebat.*

19. **contra tendere**, 'actively opposed them.' The phrase occurs several times in Tac.: cp. i. 28, *si contra tenderet exitium metuens.*

22. **donec**: cp. iii. 27, note.

XVII.

2. **usui** = *utilis.* Notice the chiastic form of the sentence.

8. **data potestate** = *dando potestatem*: the action of the ablative is not strictly prior to that of the main verb. Cp. i. 2, *urbs incendiis vastata, consumptis antiquissimis delubris.*

13, 14. **quamquam expertes**: cp. iii. 2, note on *quamquam rebus adversis.*

17, 18. **ne Vindicis aciem cogitarent,** *sc.* let them not think that they should be warned by the failure of Vindex (*cogitare* here = ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, ἐνθύμιον ποιεῖσθαι). For the allusion v. Introd. to Books 1 and 2.

18. **Aeduos,** between the upper Loire and the Saône.

19. **Arvernos,** in Auvergne. Vindex was supported by the Sequani in addition to the two last-named tribes.

Verginii : *v.* Introd. to Books 1 and 2.

Belgas, Treveri and Lingones (69). Tac. says (i. 8) that Galba refused the communities of Eastern Gaul certain privileges granted to the others, and even mulcted some of part of their territory : so that here the seeds of discontent would be already sown.

20. **reputantibus** = *si quis reputaret :* cp. note on the same word, ii. 50.

21. **easdem omnium partes,** 'they were all on the same side.'

23. **cohortes,** the eight Batavian cohorts above mentioned.

quibus : cp. *A.* i. 59, *sibi tres legiones procubuisse*; dat. on analogy perhaps of abl. with *a* or simple abl. after intrans. verbs like *cadere*, cp. *Penelei dextra procumbit*, *Aen.* ii. 425; *ab hoste caderet*, Suet. Oth. 5. Cp. θανεῖν ὑπό τινος.

nuper, April 69, at the first battle of Bedriacum : ii. 43.

25. **suetus regibus** : cp. ii. 32, *aut Italiae sueta aut aestibus.*

multos adhuc, etc., of course an exaggeration : it was 95 years since the last census of Gaul, in Augustus' seventh consulship.

26. **nuper certe caeso Q. Varo,** about 60 years before. *Nuper* is thus a little surprising, more especially as it is used a few lines back to describe an event of the same year : but it is a word of rather loose signification, and denotes a less degree of nearness in time than *modo.* Cp. Cicero, *Nuper, et quid dico nuper ? immo vero modo et plane paulo ante.*

31. **proinde** : cp. note on i. 21.

vacui occupatos, 'while your hands are free and theirs are tied' by the civil war. Rome's difficulty was the Batavian's opportunity.

33. **patere locum adversus utrumque,** 'they had an opportunity of acting against both.'

XVIII.

1, 2. **in Gallias intentus**, 'giving all his thoughts to Gaul,' *i.e.* trying to bring it to his side: cp. 51, *in Italiam resque urbis intentus.*

6. **dissimulationem**, 'pretended ignorance': cp. 24, *dissimulatos Civilis conatus.*

8. **Romanum nomen** = *Romanos*, as often in Livy; and cp. *A.* i. 43, *subvenisse Romano nomini.* So *Latinum nomen* is the regular term for those possessing Latin rights.

9. **Mun. Lupercum**, perhaps commander of the 15th legion, as Fabius Valens was probably *legatus* of the 5th, the greater part of which had gone to Italy with Vitellius. Cp. i. 61.

10. **duarum legionum**, 5th and 15th.

hibernis, at Vetera.

12. **Ubios**, whose capital was now Colonia Agrippinensis (Köln), so called in honour of the younger Agrippina; *v.* note on 28; (temp. Caesar on R. bank).

Treverorum, on the Mosel, in Gallia Belgica: their capital was Augusta Treverorum (Trier).

13. **transmisit**, over the Waal to the *insula.*

15. **maiore pretio fugeret**, 'their desertion might be the more profitable.'

17. **ante oculos**, sc. *esset*: cp. note on i. 21. The Bipontine ed. reads *ante oculos esset, hostes*, etc.; but the correction is hardly necessary.

19. **hortamenta**, etc. The practice of placing the women near the army seems to have been common to the Germans, Britons, and Thracians: cp. *Germ.* 7, *A.* xiv. 34, iv. 51. On the accusatives in apposition to the sentence (for this is the construction at least of *pudorem*), cp. note on i. 44 (*munimentum ad praesens*).

20. **cantu**, cp. *cantu truci*, ii. 22. This war-song is called in *Germ.* 3 *baritus* or *barditus*, of which Tacitus says, *nec tam vocis ille quam virtutis concentus videtur.*

22. **nudaverat**: the pluperf. expresses immediate action: cp. note on ii. 73.

24. **quamquam**: *v.* on iii. 2.

29. **Veterum**: for the genit. cp. *A.* xiv. 50, *libri quibus codicillorum nomen dederat.* Generally Tacitus uses the nominative in such sentences as the present, the predicative dative apparently only in the case of adjectives (*v.* Nipperdey on *A.* ii. 16).

The camp of Vetera was near the modern Xanten, on the L. bank of the Rhine below Wesel: said to have been on the Fürstenberg.

30. **Claudius Labeo**: the popularity of the emperor Claudius in the Rhenish and Gallic provinces is proved by the frequent occurrence of his name: cp. 33, *Claudius Victor*; 62, *Claudius Sanctus*; 49, *Claudius Sagitta*; v. 22, *Claudia Sacrata* (all provincials from Gaul or the Rhine).

oppidano, etc., 'a townsman and rival,' or 'a jealous townsman' of Civilis. The Germans have a literal translation of *oppidanus*, 'kleinstädtisch': in English we have no exact equivalent for it. 'Provincial,' with its added connotation of something 'borné,' not in touch with the world in general, approaches the meaning; but it is not the same thing.

31. **aemulus Civili**: the adj. or subst. is followed by a dative on the same principle as in Greek an adj. can sometimes even govern an accusative, *e.g.* ἄπορα πόριμος: cp. note on i. 22, *Othoni comes*.

XIX.

2. **cohortes**: it will be remembered that Vitellius had sent the Batavian cohorts from Ticinum back to Mogontiacum, and subsequently sent a message to recall them to Italy in order to assist him against Vespasian (ii. 97). In obedience to this order they had set out for Mogontiacum southwards, when they were overtaken by the messenger sent to them by Civilis, (cp. 15).

5, 6. **duplex stipendium**: troops of the line seem to have received in the first century A.D. 10 asses, *i.e.*, if the denarius is calculated at 16 asses, about 5d. Cp. *A*. i. 17 (*v*. Nipperdey, *ad loc.*). According to the latter passage the praetorians received 2 denarii (1s. 5d.) per diem.

6. **augeri equitum numerum**: so that more of the infantry should pass into the cavalry and thus receive higher pay.

8. **causam seditioni**: cp. note on *initium bello*, i. 67. Notice the change between the accusative in apposition and the final clause.

10, 11. **inferiorem Germaniam**: this province extended southwards as far as the Nava (*Nahe*), which joins the Rhine at Bingen.

14. **ignavia**: on his character, *v*. i. 9, 56.

ministris, 'his subordinates.'

15. **subito dilectu**, etc., *sc.* they saw with alarm the incapacity of the hastily recruited battalions.

16. **intra castra**: the 4th and 22nd legions were at Mogontiacum, the first at Bonna (Bonn), the 16th at Novaesium (Neuss), the 15th and 5th at Vetera.

17. **paenitentia et arguentibus**: a co-ordination of ablatives of different kinds, as 68, *ferocia aetatis et pravis impulsoribus.*

17, 18. **tamquam secuturus**: a construction sufficiently common in Tac., though in most cases he uses *tamquam* with the subjunctive.

19. **Bonnam**: the Roman camp was to the north of the town, near Wichelshof.

20. **transitu**, *sc.* from marching along the Rhine bank past Bonn.

21. **et**, 'and no doubt.'

XX.

5. **irrita**, because of the refusal to comply with their demand for double pay, etc.

Tac. often uses infin. after verbs of causation and compulsion, *adigere*, *illicere*, *mandare*, even *scribere* (to send written orders to), etc.

9, 10. **tumultuariae**, 'hastily collected.'

10. **Belgarum**, *i.e.* Nervii and Tungri (15, 16).

13. **veteres militiae**: cp. *A.* i. 20, *vetus operis ac laboris.*

14. **frontem**, etc. = *a fronte*: acc. of respect.

19. **ruina et suis telis**, perhaps hendiadys = *in sua tela ruendo.*

22, 23. **sibimet ipis consuluissent**, 'had only acted in self-defence.'

XXI.

1, 2. **iusti exercitus**, 'a regular army.'

10, 11. **arbitrium rerum R. ne ageret**, 'pretend to decide the destinies of Rome': cp. *A.* xiii. 14, *arbitrium regni agebat;* Liv. xliv. 15, *arbitria belli pacisque agere.*

14. **Bructĕri**, between the Lippe and Ems. **Tenctĕri**, between Rhine, Lippe, and Ruhr. Cp. *A.* xiii. 56.

XXII.

1. **concurrentis**, *undique ingruentis*, 'gathering.'

2. **N. Rufus**, perhaps *legatus* of the 16th legion: at least its soldiers put *Herennium et Numisium legatos* under arrest in ch. 56. It does not appear why he was at Vetera, if this is so.

3. **longae pacis opera**, that is, the buildings surrounding the camp: *procestria*, shops of *negotiatores* and *lixae*, etc.
The Roman *stativa castra* thus in many cases was the nucleus of a town: many English communities doubtless owe their origin to this.

4. **in modum municipii**: cp. i. 67, *locus in modum municipii exstructus*. The meaning is only that the buildings formed a little town: we need not lay stress on the technical meaning of *municipium*.

5. **copiae**, 'provisions': cp. i. 66, *promiscuis copiis*.

6. **rapi**: sub. *copias*.

8. **in longum** = *diu*: cp. 79, *nec in longum quies militi data*. It is a phrase of the silver age.

8, 9. **medium agmen**: Civilis advanced by the military road up the left bank, while the *catervae Germanorum* moved parallel with him on both sides of the river.

12. **in adversum amnem**, more commonly *adverso amne*.

14. **ferarum imagines**; each tribe we may suppose had its special *totem*. Cp. *Germ.* 7, *effigies et signa quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt*.

17. **duabus leg. situm**: built, made by two legions (cp. note on *situm*, iii. 72), and so capable of containing 12,000 men.

18. **armatorum Romanorum**, distinguished from *negotiatores* who would be Roman perhaps, but unarmed, while *lixae*, who might be armed, were generally non-Roman.

19. **congregata et bello ministra**, two co-ordinated attributes, but referring to different points of time: cp. *A.* xv. 51, *lentitudinis eorum pertaesa et in Campania agens* (= *in C. agens quia lentitudinis eorum pertaesa erat*).

XXIII.

1. **in collem leniter exsurgens** = on the gentle slope of a hill: cp. *Caes.* Bk. ix. 7. 19, *collis erat leniter ab infimo acclivis*. Sometimes Tac. uses *clementer* in this sense.

2. **obsideri**, 'held in check': the camp was to be a base for offensive operations against Germany: the Romans did not expect to have to stand on the defensive. On *ultro*, v. 1. 7.

6. **labor additus**, *sc.* no labour had been expended on fortifications: cp. *Georg.* i. 150, *mox et frumentis labor additus.*

arma satis placebant appears to be equivalent to *arma satis esse placuit* (or *videbatur*).

8. **sibi quaeque**, for *pro se quaeque*: = *propriis cuneis* (16). Cp. i. 13, *sibi quisque tendentes.*

15. **nimii**, 'uncontrollable,' or 'extravagant,' used here absolutely: generally it is followed by a word of limitation, as 80, *nimius commemorandis quae meruisset*, iii. 75, *nimius sermonis.*

sed tum is closely connected with *adversa quoque*, as opposed to *rebus secundis*: they were always uncontrollable in the hour of victory, and now even battled against overmastering difficulty.

17. **insolitum sibi**: cp. a bolder use of the reflexive, i. 64, *cohortes Lugduni, solitis sibi hibernis, relinqui placuit.*

nec = *sed non*: cp. *nec ausi*, 26.

18. **struere materias in modum pontis**: the *pons* is apparently a moveable tower with some kind of bridge or platform jutting out from it: some stand on this bridge, while their comrades in the tower try to batter down the defences of the camp.

materias = wood for building: for the pl. cp. v. 20, *caedendis materiis.*

22. **crates vineasque**, cp. ii. 21.

23. **tormentis**, a generic term: the proper word would probably be *catapultae*, which often threw burning missiles, such as *falaricae.*

24, 25. **verterent consilium ad moras**, 'they resolved on a policy of delay.'

XXIV.

3. **e legionibus** = the 4th and 22nd.

6. **navibus**: reading of M: al. *pavidus.*

invalidus, etc., gives the reason why Flaccus did not lead the land force himself: he was ill and unpopular with his soldiers. Cp. i. 9, where he is spoken of as suffering from the gout.

7. **emissas**, 'allowed to go.'

16. **proditore** : M *traditore.*

17, 18. **his inter se vocibus** : the adverbial expression takes the place of some adjective like *mutuis* : cp. 37, *magnis in vicem cladibus* ; i. 65, *multae in vicem clades.*

XXV.

2. **illic**, sc. *qui illic agebat:* cp. v. 14, *memoria prosperarum illic rerum.*

5, 6. **supervenientibus** : the word is used of a force arriving on the field in the middle of the engagement like the Prussians at Waterloo. Cp. 54, *superventu legionis caesi victores.* For the facts cp. 19, 20.

8. **repens**, a Tacitean word : other authors use *repentinus.*

extingui repens : 'crushed in the bud.'

9. **exemplares**, instead of the common form, *exemplaria:* cp. Fronto, *ep. ad Antonium* ii. 5, *exemplares eorum excerptorum nullos feci.*

11. **instituit pessimum facinus**, 'introduced the vile practice of,' etc.

epistulae, of course letters written to the general.

12. **aquiliferis**, because the letters were intended to be read before the *signa* in the *principia*, the general meeting-place of the soldiers : cp. Spartian, *Pescennius Niger* 4, *misi litteras recitandas ad signa.*

14, 15. **usurpandi iuris**, 'to vindicate his right,' for the principle of the thing. On the gen. expressing purpose *v.* note on *secretum componendae proditionis*, ii. 100.

19. **arma sumpsere** : M *arma*, hence Orelli reads *armatae*, Düb. and Rup. *armari.*

28. **optimus quisque jussis parere.** Tac. uses the pl. after *quisque* with a superl. in several passages ; but the sing. as a rule.

29. **summam rerum**, 'the chief command': *v.* note on iii. 70.

XXVI.

3, 4. **incognita illi caelo siccitate**: as the Germany of Tacitus' time was a country of immense forests and comparatively little cultivation, its climate was of course far more

humid than at present. Cp. *A.* i. 56, *nam* (*rarum illi caelo*) *siccitate et amnibus modicis inoffensum iter properaverat*: *Germ.* 5, *aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda, umida, qua Gallias, ventosior, qua Noricum ac Pannoniam aspicit.*

4. **arti commeatus**, 'the difficulty of obtaining supplies'; cp. iii. 13, *in arto commeatus.*

9. **vetera imperii munimenta**: the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates were all frontiers of the empire: cp. *A.* i. 9, *mari Oceano aut amnibus longinquis saeptum imperium.*

10. **fors seu natura**: so when Otho was leaving Rome the flooding of the *via Flaminia* "*a fortuitis vel naturalibus causis in prodigium et omen imminentium cladium vertebatur*" (i. 86).

12. **Novaesium**, Neuss, on the Erft: in Tacitus' time on the Rhine bank, though the modern town is nearly two miles distant from the river.

sextadecuma, not the entire legion, as it had sent a *vexillum* to Italy with Vitellius. There were *sextadecumani* present at the battle near Cremona described iii. 22: whence the conjectural reading in ii. 100, *vexilla primae, quartae, quintae decumae, sextae decumae legionum.*

14. **Gallus legatus** of the 1st legion.

15. **Gelduba**, Gelb, between Kaiserswerth and Ürdingen: the village is said to stand on high ground, well adapted for a camp. It is about 10 miles from Neuss. Al. *loco cui Gelduba nomen est.*

17. **belli meditamentis**, 'military preparations': cp. *nomina summae curae et meditamenta, A.* xv. 35; and *H.* iii. 2, *meditatio belli.*

19. **Cugernorum**, said to be the descendants of those Sugambri whom Tiberius in 8 B.C. transferred to the left bank of the Rhine (Suet. *Tib.* 9). Their neighbours on the north were the Batavi and on the south the Ubii: at least this is rendered probable by Plin. *N. H.* iv. 17, *Ubii, Guberni* (*sic*), *Batavi.* The name is said to be preserved in that of the modern village of Goch.

20, 21. **pars cum H. Gallo remansit**: apparently an imprudent separation in face of the strong army of Civilis.

XXVII.

5. **acie certatum**, 'there was a pitched battle.'

8. **legati**, H. Galli.

11. **illum**, Hordeonium, who was at Novaesium: *hunc*, Gallum.

16. **tanta illi exercitui**, etc., 'of such opposite extremes of licence and submission were they capable.'

19, 20. **mixtus obsequio furor**, 'discipline alternated with insubordination.' The general sense seems to be that the two parties were so evenly balanced that each gained an alternate ascendancy.

XXVIII.

2. **nobilissimis obsidum** may perhaps mean 'hostages of good family': cp. *paucis resistentium*, iii. 12, which according to Heräus means 'a few who resisted': *v.* note on iii. 73.

5. **Menapios**, in Gallia Belgica, between the Maas and Scheld, south of the Batavians.

Morĭnos, south of the Menapii, about St. Omer and Boulogne. Virgil (*Aen.* viii. 727) calls them *extremi hominum;* cp. Plin. *N. H.* xix. 2, *ultimi hominum existimati Morini.*

7, 8. **Romanorum nomen**, reading in M; others read *Romano nomine.* For the antecedents of the Ubii *v. Germ.* 28, where they are said to have *transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.*

9. **Marcoduro**, Düren, on the Roer, south of Jülich.

10, 11. **quominus**, instead of *quin.*

11. **primo inpune**, etc. Notice the change from the subordinate adverbial phrase to a clause with a principal verb: *v.* note on 2.

14. **legionum**, the troops shut up at Vetera.

17. **molem operum** means 'the construction of the works,' according to Heräus, who compares *A.* i. 75, *mole publicae viae;* but I should doubt the possibility of this meaning. Probably *mole viae* means the weight or mass of the road, and *moles operum* the difficult task of constructing the works, —lit. the difficulty of the works.

19, 20. **superante multitudine**, *i.e.* there were plenty to spare: cp. the same phrase Liv. v. 21. This sense is rendered necessary by the following, *et facili damno:* although it is otherwise rendered 'in face of the enemy's numerical superiority.'

XXIX.

2. **simul epulantes**, ἅμα δειπνοῦντες.

6. **insignia**, ornaments. Cp. 46, *suis cum insignibus armisque.*

7. **misceri cuncta**, etc.; lit. bade all be confounded in darkness and the din of arms, 'add the confusion of darkness to their attack.' Cp. the description in Thuc. iii. 23 of the nocturnal sally of the besieged Plataeans.

8, 9. **concursus incerti**: M has *corsus incertti*, written in the margin. *Casus* is more probable, though *concursus* makes better sense.

10, 11. **tendere artus**: M has *arcus*, which seems improbable. Orelli suggests *acrius*.

11. **fors cuncta turbare**, 'chance ruled the chaos.'

15. **molientium**, *sc.* attempting to scale the rampart: cp. note on *molientes*, ii. 35.

XXX.

2. **praetoriae portae**. This gate adjoined the *praetorium* (quarters of the commanding officer and his staff), and was commonly on that side of the camp which was nearest to the enemy or was supposed most likely to be threatened: here this would be the west side, where the ground adjacent to the camp is a low plateau, gradually descending to the Niers, a tributary of the Meuse. The *porta decumana* on the east side faced the Rhine: the river would make an attack from this quarter less probable.

8. **suspensum et nutans machinamentum**, 'a crane balanced and ready to descend.' What is meant is a *tolleno*, or balanced beam with a rising and falling or seesaw movement: one arm would be within the camp while the other projected over the rampart. This latter arm, furnished with a hook, was lowered into the midst of the besiegers, and having captured one or more of them was raised again by the weighting of the other end of the beam (*verso pondere*, lit. by the shifting of the weight): and apparently in its upward course it so swung round as to deposit its victims within the camp. An age of Gatlings and Nordenfeldts finds it hard to realize the 'terror' inspired by this incredibly clumsy device!

Vegetius (iv. 21) says, '*Tolleno dicitur quotiens una trabes in terram praealte defigitur, cui in summo vertice alia transversa trabes longior dimensa medietate connectitur, eo libramento, ut si unum caput depresseris, aliud erigatur.*'

11. **expugnandi**: M has *obpugnandi*, which is probably right, although the sense is not quite so good.

13. **convellens**, 'endeavouring to undermine.'

XXXI.

1. **ante Cremonense proelium**, thus before the end of October, 69. (So far Civilis is besieging Vetera, Vocula and Herennius are at Gelduba, Flaccus at Novaesium.)

3. **Caecinae edicto**, sc. *consulari*; published probably at Cremona. No doubt it urged the army to follow the example of the consul and change sides.

4. **Alpinius Montanus**: cp. iii. 35.

6, 7. **quis militia sine adfectu**, 'who had no heart in their service.'

10, 11. **non vultu neque animo satis adfirmans**, 'without show or feeling of sincerity.'

11, 12. **iuris iur. verba conciperent**, 'repeated the formula of the oath'; *concepta verba* means a prescribed form of words, and *concipere verba* is apparently used in the sense of repeating such a form: cp. 41, *senatus inchoantibus primoribus jus jurandum concepit.*

12. **Vespas. nomen, etc.** The sentence contains a zeugma: with *haesitantes* and *levi murmure* some word like *pronuntiabant* must be supplied.

XXXII.

6, 7. **externa armis falsis velaret**: *sc.* conceal hostility to the empire under the mask of fighting for Vespasian.

9. **ubi videt**: for the historic present in a subordinate clause, cp. *ubi ... videt*, ii. 4, *postquam ... videt*, iv. 57.

12. **exhausisset**: cp. *sic exhausta nocte* ('the night having been passed in this way'), 29.

13. **recepi**, 'I have received as payment,' 'as a due': cp. note on *reddebat*, iii. 68.

14. **fratris, Cl. Pauli**: cp. 13.

vincula: cp. 13. and i. 59.

16, 17. **servientium animae**, 'servile souls': *animae* seems to imply that the Treveri are regarded only as so many lives at the Romans' disposal. There is the same idea in Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 372, *nos animae viles, inhumata infletaque turba sternamur campis.*

19. **dominorum ingenia**, 'the humours, caprices of your masters.'

21. **Gallorum** : in this appeal to a Gallic tribe Civilis keeps out of sight the German origin of the Batavians (on which *v.* 12).

23, 24. **victi idem erimus**, 'if defeated we shall be no worse off than before.'

25. **ut inritus legationis**, 'as if from a bootless errand,' *ἄπρακτος* ; *v.* Dräger, 71.

XXXIII.

4. **rapiunt** = *raptim capiunt*, 'storm.'

5. **alae**, a body of auxiliary cavalry.

Asciburgii, between Vetera and Gelduba : either Asberg, near Mörs, about two miles from the Rhine, or Essenberg.

7. **ut in tumultu**, lit. 'as was natural or possible in the confusion': *sc.* the only command which the confusion allowed him to give, was, etc.

8. **subsignano militi**, *sc.* the legionaries : cp. note on *subsignanum*, i. 71.

10. **terga in suos vertit**, a pregnant phrase for *terga vertit et in suos se recepit.* From its frequent use to denote the first movement of a retreat the phrase comes to include the whole process. Cp. *castra in hostem movit* (34), a similarly pregnant expression.

15. **sternebantur**, the impf. denotes that the legionaries 'were in a fair way to be crushed.'

16. **Vasconum**, Basques, occupying the north-east part of Hispania Tarraconensis, and the adjoining frontier territory of Gaul. It will be remembered that Galba was governor of Hispania Tarraconensis.

18. **intentos**, *sc.* intent on fighting.

19. **quam pro numero**, 'than their numbers warranted': cp. the same phrase v. 13.

21. **addit animos** : *i.e.* to the Romans : Her. inserts *Romanis.*

24. **prima acie**, 'at the beginning of the engagement.'

26. **ipsa robora**, as the force was composed of *veteranae cohortes et quod e Germanis maxime promptum.*

XXXIV.

2. **prosperis defuere**, 'abused their success': cp. *ne tempori deessent*, 'not to waste the opportunity,' below. For the pl. cp. ii. 97. *uterque ambigui.*

3, 4. **circumiri ... nequisset**, sc. *acies*.

4. **nec** appears to stand for *ne ... quidem*: cp. *A*. iv. 34, *sed neque haec in principem.*

8. **impellere** here = to drive before him: cp. iii. 16, *impulit* ('drove in') *Vitellianos.*

cursum rerum sequi = to take advantage of his success.

10. **tamquam perditae**, sc. *essent*: cp. note on i. 21.

14. **confossus**: the participle has an aoristic sense (= *et confossus est*), as of course its action is subsequent to that of *patefecit*. Cp. i. 2, *urbs incendiis vastata consumptis antiquissimis delubris* (= *et delubra consumpta sunt*), and i. 20, note on *relicta*; and 17, *data potestate.*

illico: M, *illic.*

16. **villarum**, 'farmhouses' of the Cugerni (cp. 26).

17. **castrorum**, *sc.* Vetera.

20, 21. **clamor pugnam poscentium**: 'a cry for battle' would be the English phrase: cp. note on *gaudentium impetu*, i. 4.

23. **proelium sumpsere**, 'they joined battle,' for *pr. commisere* or *suscepere*, perhaps on the analogy of *arma sumere*: cp. *bellum sumere* (66).

nam gives the reason why the Germans were ready to fight, and thus why the Romans *pr. sumpsere.*

33. **immane quantum**: *v.* note on iii. 62.

34. **omissis fugientium tergis**, a picturesque equivalent for 'giving up pursuit': cp. v. 18, *terga hostium promittens.*

36. **corrupta totiens victoria**, 'by so often wasting his victory,' neglecting to make use of it. Thierry (*Hist.* iii. 402) translates: "Tant de victoires qu'il gâtait le firent soupçonner de vouloir éterniser la guerre." He might wish the war protracted, either because its end would terminate his own command, or because he was inclined to side with Vespasian, and saw that the continuation of hostilities was unfavourable to Vitellius.

XXXV.

5. **potiebantur,** 'were masters of': cp. note on *potiente* iii. 74.

primum agmen: apparently two separate parties were sent.

8, 9. **multa pace**: cp. iii. 71.

10. **compositus** = *compositis ordinibus* (33).

11. **viarum angusta**: as there could be no defiles properly so called in the country between Vetera and Gelduba, it is best to understand the words as synonymous with 'pontes' (cp. *amnes et vetera imperii munimenta*, 26): unless indeed *viarum angusta* is a mere conventional item in the description of a march.

17. **perculsis,** 'demoralized.'

addit, etc. Vocula sets out to clear the way between Gelb and Xanten.

20, 21. **iussum erat** = the personal construction is almost always used by the older writers: Tac. often uses the impersonal: cp. *iussum erat*, v. 21.

23. **desertos se.** M, *desertosque*: whence Weissenborn, followed by Wolff, reads '*desertos se proditosque.*'

XXXVI.

Vocula retires south because of the difficulty of keeping open communications along the river.

3. **Civilis capit Geldubam** is supposed an interpolated marginal explanation, on the ground that *Civilis* cannot be the subj. of the following verb *certavit*. But the difficulty is altogether imaginary. There is no reason why *certavit* should not refer to *Civilis*, as it is quite unnecessary to suppose that *secundis* in the next sentence has any relation to this clause: rather *secunda* would be the success gained by the Romans at Vetera: ch. 34.

6, 7. **quintanorum quintadecumanorumque,** the detachments which Vocula had brought from the garrison of Vetera (35).

14, 15. **pudorem nox ademerat,** 'darkness silenced the promptings of honour,' and gave the officers a convenient excuse for not defending their general.

16, 17. **parabantur nisi .. evasisset**: cp. iii. 46, *parabant ni ... opposuisset*, and iv. 13, *adventabat, si ... inrupissent.*

XXXVII.

6, 7. **qui e superiore**, *sc.* the men from the 4th and 22nd (Orelli 18th) legions despatched with Vocula: ch. 24.

7. **causam suam dissociantibus**, 'refusing to make common cause with them.'

8. **in castris**, *i.e.* in the *principia*.

9. **cum iam Vit. occidisset**: as Vit. was put to death Dec. 20, about two months have elapsed since the events of ch. 30 (cp. 31, *haec ante Cremonense proelium gesta*).

12, 13. **Vesp. sacramento**: for the gen. cp. *sacramentum Galliarum* (58).

13, 14. **ad lib. Mogontiaci obsidium**, instead of the more common constr. *ad liberandum obsidione Mogontiacum.* Liv. xxvi. 8 has *ad Capuae liberandam obsidionem*: cp. ii. 60, *fidem absolvit.*

15. **Usipis Mattiacis.** The Usipi or Usipetes inhabited the country between the Sieg and Lahn, south of the Tencteri, west of the Chatti: the settlements of the Mattiaci were between the Rhine, Main, and Lahn, in the neighbourhood of Wiesbaden (*aquae Mattiacae*). On the Chatti, *v.* 12.

17, 18. **loricam vallumque**, 'a parapet and rampart,' *i.e.* a rampart surmounted by a parapet. Orell. on *A.* iv. 49 defines *lorica* as "*exiguum vallum et saepes ex cratibus aut saepis instar*": cp. *viminea loricula*, Caes. *B. G.* viii. 9. Traces of a rampart are still to be seen, extending from Eich, near Andernach, past the Laacher See and into Luxemburg. If this is the *vallum* of the present passage, those are mistaken who suppose that *per fines suos* refers to the original territory of the Treveri, east of the Rhine.

18. **per**, 'along,' as in 24, *per ripam*.

XXXVIII.

1. **iterum**: he was consul suffectus under Claudius, 19 years before.

4. **pavores induerat**, lit. 'had clothed itself with,' and so was beset by, false alarms.

5. **Pisone**: said (I do not know on what authority) to be the son of L. Calpurnius Piso, cons. 57 (cp. *A.* xiii. 28, 31), and grandson of C. Piso, who was said to have poisoned Germanicus (*A.* ii.).

8. **alimenta in dies mercari**, 'to buy provisions from day to day,' and so live from hand to mouth.

9. **annonae cura**: cp. Juv. x. 80, *duas tantum res anxius optat, Panem et Circenses.* Africa was the principal granary of Rome; cp. Juv. v. 118, *Tibi habe frumentum, Alledius inquit, O Libye, disiunge boves dum tubera mittas.* Corn brought from Egypt and Africa was distributed to the poorest gratis, to others at a fixed low price.

XXXIX.

Tac.'s account is probably a combination of official records with oral tradition. *Decretae*, *censuit*, etc., are phrases from 'Hansard,' while information based on tradition is represented by imperfects such as *audebat*, etc. (Wolff).

1, 2. **I. Frontinus**, subsequently consul in 74, 75-8 governor of Britain, and *curator aquarum* under Nerva. He is the author of an extant work on tactics (*Strategematica*).

Notice that the praetor convokes the senate, in the absence of both consuls: cp. i. 47.

3. **regibus**: Sohaemus of Sophene and Emesa, Antiochus of Commagene, and Herod Agrippa of Chalcis and Trachonitis, *v.* notes on ii. 81.

3, 4. **T. Iuliano**, *v.* ii. 85: where it appears his crime was less political perfidy than escape from the attacks of a personal enemy.

6. **Griphum**: he had already taken Julianus' place as legatus of the 7th legion: cp. iii. 52, *P. Griphum nuper a Vespasiano in senatorium ordinem adscitum ac legioni praepositum.*

Hormo: cp. ii. 12, 28.

7. **eiurante**, 'resigning office': the word refers to the oath taken by out-going magistrates, that they had performed their duties loyally. Cp. *A.* xiii. 14, where *ejurare* is used absolutely, as here, and xii. 4, where it governs *magistratum.*

9. **nisi quod**, cp. iii. 28, *Hormine id ingenium ... an potior auctor sit C. Plinius qui Antonium incusat, haud facile discreverim, nisi quod neque Ant. neque Hormus a fama vitaque sua ... degeneravere.* Here it is equivalent to 'although.'

11. **propria libidine**, cp. 2. Suet. Dom. 1, says of him, (*praetor*) *omnem vim dominationis tam licenter exercuit ut iam tum qualis futurus esset ostenderet.*

13, 14. **recentes...fama**, a kind of hendiadys: 'crowned with fresh laurels.' Orelli thinks that *recentes* means *novi* (in the well-known sense of *parvenus*) and Louandre translates *hommes nouveaux*. But the epithet would here be out of place, and moreover there seems to be no authority for this meaning of *recens*.

16. **S. Crassum**, elder brother of Galba's adopted son, and so *fraterna imagine fulgens* (ennobled by his brother's distinctions); cp. i. 15, where Galba says to Piso, *est tibi frater pari nobilitate, natu major, dignus hac fortuna nisi tu potior esses*. There is a similar use of *imago* (the mask or bust of a member of the family, preserved in the atrium with a list of the various *honores* attached) in *cessisti Galbae imaginibus* (ii. 76).

19, 20. **corrumpi facilis**, instead of the Ciceronian *facilis ad corrumpendum*. The infin. indicates the sphere of action of the adjective: cp. Horace's *celerem sequi* and *quidlibet impotens sperare*.

20. **adeo**: *v.* note on i. 9.

23. **C. Rufi**: cp. notes on i. 8, and ii. 65, and note at end of Ed. of Bks. I. and II. From ii. 65 it appears that C. Rufus was retained near Vitellius' person but allowed at the same time to hold his governorship: we may suppose however that with the change of emperors his *discessus* had its natural result, and the province was without a governor.

24. **tribunatus**, sc. *militum*, apparently a lucrative post: cp. Juv. i. 58, *cum fas esse putet curam sperare cohortis qui bona donavit praesepibus, etc.*

praefecturas, commands of auxiliary troops, *praefecturae fabrorum*, etc.

25. **inanem animum**, 'his vanity.'

26. **in hiberna**, in Pannonia: cp. ii. 86. The *septima* was the *septima Galbiana*.

28. **tertia**, **Gallica**: its headquarters were in Syria: cp. i. 10.

29. **in Germanias**, against Civilis.

30. **egesto quidquid turbidum**, 'after the removal of elements of disturbance.'

31. **leges**, *i.e.* the laws regained their authority.

XL.

4. **oris confusio**, *sc.* a trick of blushing. Domitian's complexion appears to have been noticeably ruddy: Tac. *Agr.* 45

speaks of *saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat*: and Pliny (*Paneg.* 48) of his "shameless red face" (*in ore impudentia multo rubore suffusa*).

5. **referente Caesare**, *i.e.* Domitian, presiding as *praetor urbanus* in the absence of the consuls; *v.* iii. 86, note.

6. **Montanus** had published satires in Nero's reign which aroused the jealousy of the imperial poetaster. Accused by Eprius Marcellus, he was pardoned by the emperor on the intercession of his father, but excluded from holding any public office (*praedicto ne in republica haberetur*): cp. *Ann.* xiv. 28, 29, 33. Under Domitian he seems to have attained a position of influence: Juv. iv. 107 mentions him as one of the *amici* or *comites* of the emperor, *i.e.* his favourites and advisers, composing a sort of ministry: *Montani quoque venter adest abdomine pinguis.*

10. **delapsa** M: other MSS. have *dilapsa.*

noscerent, 'examine, investigate': cp. *A.* i. 62, *nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegerent.*

11. **fastos**: it had been customary for the senate to decree the celebration of *ludi* and festivals in honour of various members of the imperial house, or even to name months after them: *e.g.* April was to be called after Nero, May after Claudius; *A.* xv. 74, xvi. 12. Institutions and changes of this kind would of course be entered in the *fasti* or state calendar.

12. **modum publicis inpensis facerent**, as had been already proposed (9).

14. **honor mansit**: he was allowed to retain the honorary rank of praetor.

18. **privatim**: *sc.* the proceedings of the day were creditable not only to the State but to an individual (Musonius).

20. **diversa** = *contraria.*

Demetrio, an intimate friend and the companion of the last moments of Thrasea, *A.* xvi. 34; so that his defence of P. Celer was inconsistent or even dishonourable. He was banished by Vespasian on the advice of Mucianus, who appears to have considered philosophers politically dangerous.

21. **manifestum**, used absolutely, as in *A.* xi. 6; earlier writers add some qualifying word.

24. **I. Mauricus**, brother of Arulenus Rusticus, *v.* iii. 80: he was banished by Domitian, but returned under Nerva.

Pliny says of him *Junius Mauricus, quo viro nihil firmius, nihil verius* (*Ep.* iv. 22).

25. **comment. principalium**, minutes of the imperial cabinet, but apparently regarded as State documents and not the property of the individual emperor: they would contain, *inter alia*, entries relating to applications for leave to prosecute. There are several mentions of such *commentarii* in the history of the early empire, from the *comment. Caesaris* of which we hear so much in Cicero's Philippics; cp. *e.g. A.* xiii. 43, *eam orationem Caesar cohibuit, compertum sibi referens ex commentariis patris sui nullam cujusquam accusationem ab eo coactam.*

potestatem senatui faceret, 'render them accessible to the senate.'

27. **tali super re**: cp. 82, *super rebus imperii.* Cicero uses *super* in this sense once or twice, only in letters.

XLI.

1, 2. **iusiurandum concepit** means either 'framed a form of oath' or 'repeated a set form' (for which latter sense cp. 31 and note on *conciperent*): the second meaning best suits *inchoantibus;* the leading men were the first to take the oath.

2, 3. **ceteri ut sententiam ... rogabantur**: this may perhaps imply that *magistratus* from quaestors upwards gave their opinions without being asked by the presiding consul or praetor; *v.* Nipp. on *A.* iii. 17.

7, 8. **probabant religionem** etc. This is a difficult sentence, and has caused some difference of opinion among commentators. The best meaning hitherto suggested is, I think, that which approves itself to Orelli. According to his view the words refer to those *quis flagitii conscientia inerat:* the senate watched the embarrassment of these persons, and *non sine quadam ironia* gave them all praise for their well-meant but futile attempts to make the oath fit their consciences; but they held them for perjurers all the same. On the other hand, Heräus makes *probabant ... arguebant* a description of the whole ceremony: as each senator took the oath, the house applauded his good faith or protested against his perjury; and Burnouf also takes this view, translating *les sénateurs applaudissaient à la bonne foi, protestaient contre le parjure.*

9. **eaque velut censura**; *i.e.* the senators thus taking upon themselves the office of censors (whose business it was, *inter alia*, to purge the *curia* of bad characters) pronounced their severest verdict against Vocula, etc.

16. **Scribonios fratres**: Rufus and Proculus Scribonius were governors of Upper and Lower Germany respectively: Nero compelled them to commit suicide that he might make himself master of their wealth. Dio 63. 17 describes them as *μηδὲν μηδέποτε ἄνευ ἀλλήλων πράξαντες, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῷ γένει οὕτω καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τῇ τε οὐσίᾳ συμπεφυκότες*—then giving the story of their end.

19. **V. Crispum**: *v.* ii. 10, note.

20, 21. **miscendo quae defendere nequibat**, 'by alleging Crispus' complicity in crimes which he himself could not deny.'

miscendo = *communicando* (cum Crispo).

XLII.

2. **V. Messalla**, *v.* iii. 9, note.

2, 3. **senatoria aetate**, which had been fixed by Augustus at 25.

3. **M. Aquilius Regulus** had been a noted delator in the reign of Nero. Amongst other victims he had brought about the condemnation—on the usual charge of *maiestas*—and death of two nobles, Licinius Crassus Frugi and Ser. Cornelius Orfitus.

After the death of Domitian, Regulus seems to have sunk into comparative obscurity, although still active enough for evil to be called by Pliny, *Ep.* 1. 5, *Regulus omnium bipedum nequissimus.*

6. **sponte** is followed in M by *ex sc*, in another MS. by *ex se*. According to Halm's reading the phrase may be considered to prepare the reader for Montanus' words, *hoc certe Nero non coegit* below. Regulus was supposed to have prosecuted Crassus with Nero's approval; and we may presume that in his defence on the present occasion the delator represented this approval as compulsion.

7. **depellendi periculi**, sc. *causa*: cp. note on ii. 100.

in spem potentiae = *spe potentiae*: cp. i. 12, *in Vinii odium*, 'to gratify their hatred of Vinius.'

9. **cognosceret**, 'would try the case': used here absolutely as in *Dial.* 41, *clementia cognoscentis*.

14. **Pisonis**, brother of Licinius Crassus, and likely to avenge his death.

15, 16. **hoc .. coegit**, a construction known to Cicero: cp. *Pro Cluent.* 159, *quid lex et religio cogat.*

16. **dignitatem**: Regulus' motive is said above to have been ambition.

17. **istorum**, persons who are obliged to attack others to save themselves from Nero: very probably Montanus is alluding to Eprius (whence *isti*), who justifies himself on this ground in ch. 8.

19. **securum**: Regulus was too poor to have anything to fear from Nero. *Rarus venit in coenacula miles*, Juv. x. 18.

22. **hiatu** = *cupiditate*: cp. i. 12, *hiantes amicorum cupiditates.*

24. **inbuisti**, 'handselled.'

funere reip. practically means 'the deadly wounds inflicted on the State' by the fall of distinguished men. So Cic. in *Pisonem* 21, *patriae funus.*

25. **consularibus spoliis**: Crassus and Orfitus were consulars.

saginatus: the reading of M is *signatus*, out of which commentators have endeavoured to extort a meaning.

31. **tam exped. consilii**: 'so ready a counsellor.'

32. **quo modo**: cp. iii. 77, note.

36. **ausuri**, sc. *offendere*: M has *visuri*, which does not make very good sense.

38, 39. **cum interim**, also used with the indicative (i. 60).

39. **intestabilior** = *detestabilior*: as in *A.* vi. 40: its legal sense is, 'incapable of giving evidence.'

41. **diutius ... mores**: it is true that Vespasian may repress *delatores*: but his policy may end with his life; while, if we make an example of Regulus, it will be a lasting warning to offenders.

43, 44. **more maiorum**, *sc.* by scourging and execution.

44. **optimus**, etc.: now is the time for action, now that we are freed from a bad régime, and have not as yet had time to

relapse. Cp. ii. 10, *recenti Galbae principatu censuerant patres ut accusatorum causae noscerentur.* Thus, after the death of Commodus, the senate demanded the punishment of professional accusers.

XLIII.

4. **C. Rufus** is chosen as an instance of a man whose influence with Nero (cp. Suet. *Nero*, 21) might well have made him dangerous.

11, 12. **Crispus renidens**: he was probably capable of treating the matter lightly. Juv. iv. 82 says of him *venit et Crispi jucunda senectus, cuius erant mores qualis facundia, mite ingenium*, and Quintilian mentions him as a humorist. It is he who is responsible for the *bon mot* about Domitian's fondness for killing flies: when asked if anyone was with the emperor, he replied, Not even a fly.

XLIV.

1, 2. **de abolendo dolore iraque**, the duty of forgetting old feuds; *inchoante* seems to be the same as *referente.*

2. **necessitatibus**, implying that individuals were often compelled by Nero to prosecute.

3. **censuit prolixe pro**, 'spoke in defence of'; *prolixe* is often used by Cic. in the sense of 'favourable': and Cato (as quoted by A. Gellius) speaks of *res secundae atque prolixae.*

4. **repeterent**, like Helvidius: cp. 6.

10. **Sagitta**, trib. pl. 58 A.D. He was punished for his crime under the *lex Cornelia de Sicariis et veneficis* by *deportatio* and loss of his property. The story is given at length in *A.* xiii. 44.

13. **inpotens amoris**, apparently = *inpotens sui prae amore*: *amore vecors* is the phrase in *A.* xiii.

Sosianus, praetor 62 A.D., punished with *deportatio* and loss of property for lampooning Nero: *A.* xiv. 48.

18. **viles**, *sc.* it made no difference whether mere ciphers like Sagitta and Sosianus were punished or not: it was the delatores against whom indignation was felt, and these Mucianus would not punish.

XLV.

1. **reconciliavit**, not necessarily with Mucianus: the meaning is rather that the senate had to deal with a case in which they could at last be unanimous.

3. **Senator**, acc. to Orelli, means a senator and nothing more, a senator who had held no public office: cp. *Cestius senator*, *A*. iii. 36.

pulsatum: the law apparently recognized a distinction between *pulsare* and *verberare;* according to the Digests, *verberare est cum dolore caedere, pulsare sine dolore.*

4. **Seniensi**, otherwise "colonia Sena Julia," in Etruria, the modern Siena. There was a place called Senia in Dalmatia: but this, acc. to Pliny, *N.H.* iii. 140, was not a *colonia* but an *oppidum.*

coetu, abl. of manner; **iussu**, causal abl. So in the last sentence of the chapter *damnatur* is used with two abl. of different kinds, *lege* and *exsilio.*

6. **planctum**, etc., *i.e.* he was confronted with a sham funeral, in which he played the central part of corpse. So the modern object of unpopularity is burnt in effigy, and the "threatening letter" is illustrated with a coffin.

11. **modestiae**, *i.e.* their duty as law-abiding citizens; *v.* note on *modesti*, i. 52.

12. **Cyrenensibus**: there is reason to add *accusantibus*, as *damnatus* can quite well be followed by dat., a kind of ethic dat. or dat. commodi: cp. *Apronio condemnare*, Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 3.

13. **exsilio damnare**, cp. Liv. x. 1, *Frusinates tertia parte agri damnati*, a kindred though not exactly similar use of the abl. In other places Tac. generally uses *ad.* Cp. *A*. vi. 38, *extremum ad supplicium damnatus.*

ob saevitiam, Flamma (proconsul of Crete, to which province Cyrene was attached) had taken a bribe to inflict the penalty of death on an innocent man: hence his banishment. Had his crime been simply extortion the case would have been tried by *recuperatores*, and the penalty would have been fourfold restitution of the amount extorted.

XLVI.

2. **a Vitellio dimissi**: cp. ii. 67.

5. **Vitelliani**: the praetorians who had surrendered at Narnia and Bovillae (iii. 63, iv. 2). 'They could not be dis-

persed without bloodshed,' only seems to imply that it would have been necessary to shed blood, not that they were actually dispersed in this way.

6. **inmensa pecunia** is followed in M by 'fer,' apparently a fragment of some lost word. From a confusion of pages in the MS. 'fer' is followed by the pages beginning with *ne criminantium* in 52, down to the end of ch. 53; hence there is a mistaken reading at the end of 53, *quo tanta vis hominum retinenda erat.* The words belong to this chapter, and are entirely out of place in the other passage.

7, 8. **stipendia**, their length of service: so, their respective claims.

15. **si qui aliorum exerc.**: *i.e.* any troops still in Rome, not sent away as some had been (39).

24. **pari causa**, 'seeing that they were in a like case.'

33. **in praetorium**, 'among the praetorians'; cp. 2, *praefectura praetorii.*

34. **iusta stipendia**: sixteen years for praetorians, twenty for legionaries.

35. **carptim ac singuli**, 'one by one and at different times': cp. Liv. xxviii. 25, *seu carptim partes seu universi mallent convenire.*

XLVII.

1. **verane**, etc.: 'whether the poverty was real or the intention was that it should seem so' (and so applicants for aid might be more plausibly refused). Cp. for 'an' iii. 25, *vagus inde an consilio ducis subditus rumor.*

3, 4. **P. Silvanus**, who had been consular legate of Dalmatia: *dives senex*, ii. 86.

Vespasian is said to have alleged at the beginning of his reign, '*quadringenties milies opus esse, ut respublica stare posset.*'

5. **legem ferente**: as Vitellius had named the consuls for the next ten years, a formal annulling by a 'lex' was necessary.

6. **funus censorium**, 'a public funeral': so called because the contract in Republican days was let by the censors. It is the same as *funus publicum.*

XLVIII.

1. **Piso**, proconsul of Africa : cp. 38.

3. **si pauca supra repetiero**, etc., 'by a brief retrospect of certain matters connected with the reasons for such crimes.' *Absurda* = *aliena*.

6. **proconsuli** : Africa being a senatorial province.

7. **turbidus**, 'restless.'

10. **beneficiorum**, distribution of offices and so forth.

11. **mixtis utriusque mandatis**, *sc.* as their powers were not clearly defined.

13. **officii**, 'tenure of office' : legati were appointed and removed at the emperor's pleasure, and usually remained for several years in their command : while the governors of senatorial provinces changed annually, as in Republican times.

minoribus : the legatus being of inferior official rank to the proconsul.

15. **securitati**, 'comfort.'

XLIX.

1. **Sed** resumes the narrative after the digression of the last chapter.

1, 2. **Val. Festus** (ii. 98) had commanded the legio III. Augusta in 69 and 70 : he was afterwards legatus in Pannonia and in Spain.

5. **secreto** ; cp. ii. 4 : 'private interviews.'

7. **nec ambigitur**, here with infinitive as in *A.* vi. 28 and elsewhere in Tac. : in earlier authors followed by an indirect question.

12. **alae Petrianae** : cp. 1. 70.

15. **Galerianum** : cp. 11.

19. **nihil ad ea moto Pisone** = *sed nihil ad ea P. movit* : cp. note on *confossus*, 34.

22. **continuare** = *continenter optare*.

25. **gaudio**, etc. 'they raised confused shouts of joy' : cp. *cuncta misceri*, 29, and *clamore et gaudiis* (acc. to one reading), 1. 27.

29. **quaesitum sibi crimen caedemque**: the expression may be almost a hendiadys, 'that the object was to fix on him a charge which would warrant his death.' The centurion was sent to tempt him to show his hand.

32. **Macri**, cp. 1. 7: he had really attempted that starvation of the city of which Piso had been falsely accused.

L.

1. **consternatio**, 'excitement': cp 1. 83. Possibly the situation may have been so represented to Festus that he really thought Piso meditated revolt.

4. **obscuro adhuc coeptae lucis**, 'in the morning twilight,' a noticeable oxymoron.

8. **quisnam**, sc. *qua facie.*

12. **Massa**, a notorious delator under Domitian; Juvenal, i. 35, describes a dreaded accuser as one "whom even Massa fears." He was prosecuted by the younger Pliny and Senecio, and convicted for extortion as procurator of Hisp. Baetica. Cp. Agr. 45, and Plin. *Ep.* 7. 33 especially.

12, 13. **e procuratoribus**: cp. 1. 31, *e Galbae amicis.* On *procuratores*, *v.* 1. 2 note. Naturally there would be more than one finance officer in so large and rich a province as Africa: although it must be remembered that the *procuratores* would only control part of the finance of a senatorial province.

15. **Adrumeto**, modern Hamamet, south of Carthage on the sea-coast.

16. **ad legionem**: its headquarters were at Theveste (Tebessa), on the frontier of the province of Africa.

18. **sed ... vocabat**: notice the change to an independent sentence: one would expect *vocans*: cp. note on ch. 2.

21. **Oeensium**, on the site of the modern Tripoli.

Leptitanorum: Leptis lay south of Adrumetum, east of Oea: the modern Lemta.

23. **inter agrestes** is closely connected with *raptu.*

23, 24. **iam per arma**, etc.; as we should say, 'had assumed the proportions of a regular war.'

25. **Garamantas**, in the modern pachalik of Fessan. Virgil, *Aen.* vi., puts them among the most distant of known nations: *super et Garamantas et Indos proferet imperium.*

Pliny, *N. H.* v. 5, says *Proximo bello quod cum Oeensibus Romani gessere auspiciis Vespasiani imp. compendium viae quatridui deprehensum est* (ad Garamantes): *i.e.* four days' journey from the coast.

26. **latrociniis fecundam,** *i.e.* addicted to making continual raids. For the abl. cp. *fecunda rumoribus*, 1. 51.

30. **mapalium,** huts or collections of huts of a kind peculiar to these African tribes: cp. Sall. *Jug.* 18. Their shape seems to have been that which is still found in the country, resembling a boat, keel upwards.

LI.

4. **adgressi,** as if the sea was an enemy to contend with: *valet adgredi de re ardua, hostili, periculosa* (Walther).

5. **aderant,** at Alexandria.

milia, omitted in M: cp. Suet. Vesp. 6, *Vologesum promisisse* xl. *milia sagittariorum.*

7. **auxiliis ambiri** = to receive the offer of assistance; cp. *Aen.* vii. 333, *neu conubiis ambire Latinum Aeneadae possint* (sc. *precibus adire ut conubia concedat*).

8, 9. **legatos ad sen. mitteret**; thus allowing the senate its ancient right of receiving embassies.

10. **intentus in**: cp. 17, *in Gallias intentus.*

13. **Iudaici belli**: the Jews had revolted in Nero's reign: v. Bk. 5. Cp. ii. 4, *profligaverat bellum Iudaicum Vespasianus* ('had nearly but not quite ended the war'): so here *reliqua belli.*

LII.

2. **ferunt.** Halm's correction of MS. *dicebatur;* I do not know why adopted, as the construction is common enough in Tacitus: cp. iii. 79, *plebem armari nuntiabatur.* "It is shrewdly remarked by Roth that *verba sentiendi et declarandi* in the passive are found with accus. and infin. when the matter is certain; with nomin. and infin. when it is uncertain" (Bach ap. Orell.) From such instances as I have observed, I should think this distinction is rather fanciful.

3. **integrum,** 'unprejudiced' by what Domitian's accusers might say.

4. **praestaret**; with which supply *ut* from the preceding *ne.*

8. **indiscretum**, 'inseparable': cp. *inaccessus* = inaccessible.

LIII.

1. **restituendi Capitolii.** It seems to be not quite certain whether Vespasian was himself present at the ceremony described in this chapter. From the fact that Tacitus does not mention his taking any part in it, we should infer his absence: yet Suetonius says distinctly that he was there and took an active part: *ruderibus purgandis manus primus admovit ac suo collo quaedam extulit* (Vesp. 8): and Dio Cassius, lxvi. 10, says very much the same.

Vestinum: possibly the man mentioned by Claudius in his speech on the *ius honorum* of the Gauls: *ex qua colonia* (sc. *Viennensi*) *inter paucos equestris ordinis ornamentum L. Vestinum familiarissime diligo.*

3. **contracti**, probably from the towns of Etruria, the home of their science: yet it may mean simply the assembling of the sixty haruspices who had formed a collegium at Rome since the days of Claudius (cp. *A.* xi. 15).

4. **in paludes**, the marshes of Ostia.

5. **vestigiis**: cp. iii. 72, *isdem rursus vestigiis situm est.*

9. **fausta nomina**, 'lucky names,' such as Salvius, Valerius, Victor, Longinus. On the other hand, Curtius, Minucius, Furius, or Hostilius would be unlucky names. Cp. Cic. *de Div.* i. 102, *cum imperator exercitum, censor populum lustraret, bonis nominibus qui hostias ducerent eligebantur: quod idem in dilectu consules observant, ut primus miles fiat bono nomine;* and Plin. *N. H.* xxviii. 2, *cur publicis lustris etiam nomina victimas ducentium prospera eligimus.*

10. **felicibus ramis**, *e.g.* branches of oak, laurel, or myrtle —any tree which was *dis grata.* Cp. Ammianus, xxix. 1, *verbenas felicis arboris gestans;* and Liv. xl. 37, *coronati et lauream in manu tenentes supplicaverunt.*

11. **patrimis matrimisque**, whose fathers and mothers were both alive: ἀμφιθαλεῖς. According to a note of Servius on *Georg.* i. 31, they must be the offspring of *confarreati;* but probably now that *confarreatio* had fallen into comparative disuse, it was only necessary that the children should be *ingenui,* and perhaps that their fathers should be senators.

aqua ... perluere: cp. Tertull. *de Bapt.* v., *villas domos templa totasque urbes aspergine circumlatae aquae expiant passim.* Thus it seems that vessels of 'holy water,' περιρραντήρια, were kept in temples to sprinkle the priests and worshippers. In M *trimis* follows *aqua* in the text: evidently a dittographia caused by the preceding *patrimis* or *matrimis.*

12. **H. Priscus praetor**: Domitian ranked highest among the praetors, as pr. urbanus: but he had probably set out for Gaul.

13. **praeeunte**, 'dictating' the proper form of words.

Pl. Aeliano: probably identical with P. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, mentioned in an inscription as having held various offices: *pontifex sodalis Augustalis triumvir auro aeri argento flando feriundo Tib. Caesaris legatus leg.* v. *in Germania praetor urbanus legatus et comes Claudii Caesaris in Britannia consul proconsule Asiae legatus propraetore Moesiae.*

14. **suovetaurilibus**, a sacrifice consisting of a bull, boar, and ram, offered to Mars: such as is represented on a relief preserved in the Forum (Middleton, p. 219).

redditis, the proper ceremonial expression, apparently: cp. Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 194, *lancibus et pandis fumantia reddimus exta*: on which Servius' note is *reddi dicebantur exta cum probata et elixa arae* (so here *super caespitem*, on the turf altar) *superponebantur.*

18. **lapis**, *sc.* the first stone.

23. **metallorum primitiae**, etc., *sc.* virgin ore: *victae* is a more elegant equivalent for *coctae.*

27. **credebatur.** M has *credi*: Orell. reads *creditum.*

LIV.

1. **interim**, at the end of December or beginning of January. Tacitus anticipates the order of events for convenience' sake in describing the foundation of the Capitol, xi. Kal. Jul.

2. **dissimulátione**; he no longer pretended to be fighting for Vespasian.

7. **Sarmatis**, etc. There was some foundation for this report in so far as the Dacians had made a quickly checked raid upon Moesia; iii. 46.

10. **finem imperio**: cp. iii. 72, note.

15. **Druidae**, who seem to have personified the spirit of hostility to Rome. "They used religious enthusiasm to fan the flame of national aspirations for independence," Heräus says. "They had no reason to love the Romans at this time, as their worship had been abolished, and they themselves persecuted by Claudius" (Suet. Cl. 25). On the Druidae in general v. Caes. *B. G.* vi. 12. Thierry describing the present occasion says: *On vit alors de toutes parts les Druides sortir des retraites sauvages où la persecution de Claude les avait relégués, et reparaître en triomphe dans les villes, avec les Bardes, les chants prophétiques, les immolations humaines, et l'attirail ressuscité du vieux fanatisme* (*Hist. des Gaulois*, iii.)

16. **primores Galliarum**: Orelli thinks that these may be the legati sent by Otho to the armies of Germany (i. 74): but there is no evidence to guide us in the matter. More probably the reference is to envoys sent by Otho to work for his cause in Gaul: then *antequam digrederentur* would mean 'before they separated, to go to their respective communities.'

LV.

4. **Classicus** had served against Otho under Valens (ii. 14).

5. **pace belloque**, the Ciceronian phrase would be *domi militiaeque*.

7. **socios iactabat**. Or. reads after M *socius iactabat*, which he explains as a Greek construction—εὔχετο εἶναι. On the omission of *potius*, *v.* note on iii. 70.

8. **hic ... hic**, instead of *hic ... ille*: apparently in imitation of several passages in Virgil.

Lingonus, a form found in Martial, viii. 75, and a Gallic inscription: although the plural is always *Lingones*, accus. *Lingonas*.

16. **publice**, the town as a community: cp. note on *publice donatos*, i. 51.

19. **moras consultandi**, the delays of deliberation, *i.e.* which would be caused by deliberation. Such genitives of definition are common in Cicero: e.g. *suboles juventutis*. Cp. the Homeric τέλος θανάτοιο.

21. **cum maxime**, 'at this very moment': cp. i. 29.

22. **distineri**, *i.e.* their attention was fully occupied.

23. **disceptaturas**: M has *discep* at the end of a line, the next beginning with *ras*; in the margin, "al. despecturas," by the same hand: hence Or. reads *dispecturas*.

LVI.

2. **plerique**, here evidently 'many,' as often in Tacitus.

6, 7. **ceterum vulgus** = *ceteros, hoc est, vulgus*.

8. **concilii**, reading of M: Or. reads *consilii*, which makes better sense.

11. **Voculae**: he was now at Mogontiacum.

14. **e praesentibus**, 'under the circumstances.'

15. **isdem**: Livy would say *isdem artibus*: cp. *nec fefellit Hannibalem suis se artibus peti*: xxii. 16.

17. **commeatum**; M has *commentum*: Orell. reads *conventum*, 'the whole district.'

22 **Nerviorum**, *v.* 15.

Baetasiorum: between the Tungri and Nervii, in the neighbourhood of the modern Beetz, in Brabant.

24. **Marsacos**, acc. to Heräus neighbours of the Canninefates, between the mouths of Maas and Scheld: Orelli places them (cp. Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 28. 31) east of the Leyden mouth of the Rhine.

incursabat: cp. iii. 18, note.

LVII.

2. **Veteribus**, once more besieged by Civilis: cp. 36.

Classicus ac Tutor appear thus to have been still with Vocula's force.

5. **legionibus**; probably the 1st and 16th: as the 5th and 15th—the majority at any rate—were in the besieged camp, and the garrison of Mogontiacum is mentioned separately in 59.

10. **et ultores**: *et* is really out of place according to the ordinary Latin usage: but perhaps it is used in order to emphasise *ultores deos*.

11. **Sacrovirum et Aeduos**: the Aedui and Treveri revolted in 21 A.D. headed respectively by Sacrovir and Florus: the rebellion was promptly repressed (*A.* iii. 40-46).

Vindicem: *v.* Introduction to Book I.

15. **Galbam et infracta tributa**, 'Galbas' reduction of the tribute.' As a matter of fact Galba had made no reduction in the case of those Gauls whom Vocula was now addressing: cp. i. 8, *proximae Germanicis exercitibus Galliarum civitates non eodem honore habitae, quaedam etiam finibus ademptis.* So i. 53, *Treveri et Lingones quasque alias civitates atrocibus edictis aut damno finium Galba perculerat.*

Wolff reads 'post Galbam,' when the subject of *induisse* would be *eos.*

16. **quia**: on the omission of 'sit' *v.* i. 21 note.

22. **Romani exercitus.** M *Romanus exercitus:* which Or. makes subject of *iurarent.* Al. *Romanis exercitibus.*

LVIII.

2. **pro me securior**, instead of *de me:* cp. *Agr.* 26, *securi pro salute.*

4. **solacium**: M *hostium:* other conjectures are *haustam* and *honestam.*

6. **fas armorum**, earlier writers would say *ius belli:* it means much the same as *ius hostium.*

13. **socii saepe nostri**, *e.g.* the garrisons of Saguntum and Casilinum in the Punic wars.

14. **pertulerunt** with acc. and inf. is a usage of the silver age: earlier authors would employ *pati.*

15. **fides famaque**, hendiadys.

16. **cum maxime**: cp. 55.

20. **nuper**: cp. 36.

23. **bellorum victores**: cp. the same expression *A.* i. 19.

25. **trahendi**, absolute, 'gaining time.' Cp. Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 315, *at trahere atque moras tantis licet addere rebus.*

27. **sane ego displiceam**, 'sane' has a concessive force here as often (so it is frequently answered by *tamen*): "it is true, perhaps I am unpopular." Cp. Cicero *Tusc.* ii. 14, *ne sit sane summum malum dolor: malum certe est.*

28. **ne hoc**, etc. The connection with the last clause appears to be, "you have other officers—choose whom you will as leader, only do not let Civilis lead you against Italy."

32. **Tutori**, a sort of *dative commodi.*

33. **agentur excubiae**, *sc.* stand on guard.

33, 34. **et Germanorum**: Heräus reads *Gallorum et Germanorum* to get rid of the slight difficulty of *et*.

35. **se contra derexerint**: *se* is not in M.

39. **octingentos viginti**, 823 strictly speaking.

40. **precor venerorque**, 'I humbly pray': Lat. thus often uses two verbs where we express the meaning by a verb plus an adverb: cp. *fusi fugatique*, 'utterly routed.'

41. **si vobis non fuit cordi**, etc. There is a similar prayer in Liv. ix. 8: *vos di immortales precor quaesoque, si vobis non fuit cordi consules cum Samnitibus prospere bellum gerere, at vos satis habeatis*, etc.

44. **detis**, with which *ut* must be supplied from *ut ne*, as from *ne* in 52.

LIX.

1. **inter spem**, etc. The prepos. as it were expresses the throng of emotions which Vocula's words encountered: 'according as the men were actuated by hope, fear or shame.' *Inter* is used in a somewhat similar way—describing some element in the situation which has to be considered—in *procacissimis etiam inter servos lixarum ingeniis*, ii. 87, where *v.* note.

6. **Herennium**, commanding the 1st legion (19). It is not certain of which legion Num. was legatus: perhaps the 16th.

8. **insignibus**, the purple cloak, and the lictors.

11-13. **altis ordinibus ... attollit**, 'gave him high promotion': *ordinibus* is ablat. The plural appears to be used because Longinus was probably not at once promoted to the post of *centurio primipilus*, but was allowed to pass quickly through the intervening stages. On the meaning of *ordo v.* i. 31 note; here it is probably used with special reference to the technical phrase *ordinem ducere* (to be a centurion).

14. **curae**, 'the command': *curare* is used absolutely in this sense.

15, 16. **quantum militum**, *sc.* erat: cp. *quod militum*, 15. These would probably be the 4th and 22nd legion (Orell. 18th), at Mogontiacum; for the third of the legions of the upper Rhine, the 21st, had its headquarters at Vindonissa (Windisch,

at the confluence of the Aar and Reuss): and this place seems to have been left undisturbed.

21. **praesentia sequerentur**, *sc.* would follow the example of their comrades.

LX.

4. **profana**, sc. *quibus vesci nefas est:* 'unclean.'

6. **saxis**, probably a merely conventional touch, as the ground near Xanten is not rocky or stony at all.

12. **calones**, being slaves, were regarded as chattels.

13. **leves**, lightly equipped or laden: cp. *G.* 6, *nudi aut sagulo leves.*

13, 14. **ad quintum**, near Alpen, between Xanten and Rheinberg.

20. **faces iniciunt**; yet Vetera is mentioned in the later itineraries as a military post.

LXI.

1. **barbaro voto**; such vows appear to have been common among the Germans, and sometimes to have been taken by an entire community: *e.g.* the Chatti (Germ. 31). Paulus Diaconus (*Gesta Langobard.* iii. 7) tells us that 6000 Saxons vowed to grow their hair and beard till they should be avenged on their enemies the Suevi. A vow of this kind is recorded as having been taken by Julius Caesar himself (Suet. Jul. 67).

2. **propexum** = *promissum*: cp. *Aen.* x. 838, *propexam in pectore barbam.*

rutilatum: this Batavian method of artificially reddening the hair is mentioned by Martial, viii. 33, *et mutat Latias spuma Batava comas:* Pliny also (*N. H.* xxviii. 12) speaks of a Gallic fashion of colouring the hair with tallow and ashes. It is therefore unnecessary to suppose that Civilis reddened his hair in fulfilment of a vow: Tac. simply mentions that it was *rutilatus* in accordance with German or Gallic custom.

9. **Lupercus**: *v.* note on 18.

10. **Velaedae**: this Deborah of the insurgent Batavians was arrested and brought to Rome on the occasion of a subsequent revolt in Vespasian's reign. Cp. Germ. 8, and Stat. *Silv.* i. 4, 90, *captivaeque preces Veledae* (a quotation which would settle the quantity of the second syllable, if D. Cass. lxvii. 5, on the other hand, did not call her Βελήδα).

10. **Bructĕrae**, cp. 21.

11. **imperitabat**, probably implies nothing more than a wide influence over men's minds, not an actual sovereignty.

18. **pignus societati** : cp. i. 67, *initium bello.*

20. **Vindonissae** : cp. note on 59. From i. 61 it appears that the 21st legion, the garrison of Vindonissa, had followed Caecina to Italy : so that the post would only be held by the dépot.

LXII.

6. **rubore et infamia**, hendiadys : 'blushing for their disgrace.'

6, 7. **quis dux viae**, sc. *esset:* in rhetorical or exclamatory questions like this the usual construction is acc. and infin.

14. **haud perinde notabilis**, 'not so noticeable' (as outside) : there is a similar ellipse after *haud perinde* in ii. 84.

15. **imperatorum imagines**, likenesses of emperors attached to the standards, which, deprived of them, would be *inhonora.* So i. 41, *Galbae imaginem.* Cp. iii. 13.

18. **dirus ore, ingenio debilior**, 'hideous of expression and mentally yet more incapable' than physically : the loss of an eye being of course a kind of *debilitas.*

24. **ala Picentina**, not elsewhere mentioned by Tacitus, but named in a military patent of 74 A.D. (where it is called *Picentiana*), also on an inscription near Mainz.

LXIII.

1. **sublati** = *elati* : cp. *Aen.* x. 502, *rebus sublata secundis.*

4. **civitatis** = *urbis*, as often in the Histories : cp. *e.g.* 65 *muros civitatis.*

5. **ratio belli** : the destruction of the town would have lost them the support of the Ubii at any rate.

9. **honorata custodia habuerant** : M, *honoratae custodiae erant:* Orelli reads *honorate custodierant.*

12. **promisca**, etc., 'were thrown open to all German settlers alike' : whether they wished to become citizens of the town or to preserve their own nationality. The Ubii are reproached with sacrificing their kinship with the Germans for the name of *Agrippinenses* (28).

LXIV.

1. **Tencteri**, *v.* 21.

2. **concilium**, apparently a general assemblage of the people (cp. the Roman *concilium plebis*), not the *consilium publicum* or body of *decuriones*.

5. **Marti** : Mars appears according to Roman ideas to have corresponded to the German deity, Tiu or Zio; hence our Tuesday is in French Mardi (*dies Martis*).

8. **caelum ... clauserant**, I suppose, by the height of their walls and ramparts.

10, 11. **inermes** : cp. *G.* 13, *nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt.* Orelli says that within his own recollection the country people round Zurich used to carry arms when they met to elect local authorities.

11. **sub custode et pretio** : the Germans were obliged to pay so much for coming into the town at all, and when they were inside must be under police supervision. So the Ubii answer (65) *vectigal et onera commerciorum resolvimus : sint transitus incustoditi*, etc. In *G.* 41 the Hermunduri are said to cross the Danube *passim et sine custode.*

12, 13. **rata sint**: for the neuter cp. iii. 70, *pacem et concordiam victis utilia.*

14. **detrahatis** : one would expect *diruatis;* but cp. *A.* xv. 17, *detraheret castella trans Euphratem. Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis notum est.* (G. 16.)

15. **si clausa teneas**: for this impersonal use of the second person in the subjunct. cp. i. 83, *ni iudicium adhibeas* (= *adhibeatur*).

16. **finibus** : the territory of the Ubii extended south as far as Andernach, northward into the neighbourhood of Uerdingen.

18. **in medium cedant**, 'be made public property': cp. iii. 83, *spolia in vulgus cedebant. In medium* or *in commune* is frequently used by Tacitus; cp. *e.g. H.* ii. 5, *in medium consulere* (sc. *in medium convenire consultatum*), all parties as it were meeting at a central point for deliberation.

24. **abruptis**, as if they were chains: cp. *abruptis vitae blandimentis*, ii. 53.

25. **sincerus et integer**, 'simple and uncorrupted' by Roman luxuries.

26. **ex aequo agetis**: the same phrase Agr. 20.

LXV.

2. **quando** = *quandoquidem* : cp. i. 87.

8. **cum maxime**, cp. 55.

11. **eos bellum**, etc. The object of *absumpsit* becomes the subject of *refugerunt:* there is a reversal of the process in *A.* ii. 83, *quaedam statim omissa sunt aut vetustas obliteravit.*

12. **olim**, only twenty years before: the colony was founded in 50 A.D. at the bidding of the younger Agrippina: cp. *A.* xii. 27.

13. **provenerunt**: before the silver age the word is used only of products of the soil.

18. **nova et recentia** : *novum est non quod nuper, sed quod nunc primum habemus; recens vero non quod nunc primum, sed quod nuper. Et novum ad rem* (*i.e.* it means not only new but strange) *recens ad tempus refertur.*

vetustate in consuetudinem. M, *in vetustatem consuetudine;* followed by Orelli.

25. **edita in turre**: all that can be asserted about the locality of the tower is that it must have been near the navigable part of the Lippe : cp. v. 22, *hostes a se captam praetoriam triremem flumine Luppia donum Veledae traxere.*

consulta, 'questions.'

LXVI.

1. **auctus**, 'strengthened': cp. *A.* iv. 23, *auctus Maurorum auxiliis.*

3. **Sunucis**, the western neighbours of the Ubii, between the Meuse and Rör. The modern village of Sinnich perhaps preserves their name.

7. **pontem Mosae**, probably at the same point as the later town of Trajectus Mosae (Maastricht).

10. **an**, 'or perhaps': cp. iii. 25, *an consilio ducis.*

14. **seu me ducem**, etc. : cp. Sall. *Cat.* 20, *vel imperatore vel milite me utimini.*

18. **profugit**: cp. 70, *Civilis avia Belgarum circumibat dum C. Labeonem capere aut exturbare nititur.*

20. **ingens rerum** : if the reading is right, the genitive is one of respect, and the meaning is 'immensely powerful.' Heräus asserts that *res* cannot mean 'power,' unless it is sup-

plemented by an adjective (e.g. *res modicae*) or joined with a verbal substantive, as *possessio rerum*, 61: and he is inclined to think that *fiducia* or more probably *columen* has been lost. *Ingens rerum fiducia* occurs ii. 4: but *fiducia* would not accord well with the following *perculsis*. Ruperti and Döderlein suggest *virium* instead of *rerum*. Probably the reading in the text is right, and the phrase intentionally strange.

LXVII.

2. **monumentis**, tablets or columns on which the treaty was inscribed: cp. Livy ii. 33, *foedus cum Latinis columna aenea insculptum*.

3. **Sequanos**, cp. i. 51: their capital was Vesontio (Bésançon).

6. **melioribus**, rather 'more loyal' than 'braver.'

6, 7. **fusi Lingones**: according to Frontinus, 70,000 armed men surrendered (*Strateg.* iv. 3).

11. **novem**: he was captured in 79, sent to Rome, and executed.

13. **suo loco**, among the events of the year 79, in the lost part of the Histories. The story is given by D. Cass. and Plutarch: acc. to the former (lxvi. 16) Sabinus and his wife were concealed for nine years in a *μνημεῖον ὑπόγειον*, where two sons were born to them.

14. **stetit**, 'was checked': cp. Agr. 16, *seditio sine sanguine stetit*.

16. **Remis**, between the Marne and Aisne, near the modern Reims (Durocontorum Remorum, Caes. *B. G.* vi. 44).

LXVIII.

1. **in deterius audita**, on the analogy of such phrases as *in det. aucta*; cp. iii. 13.

3. **Gallum Annium**, one of Otho's generals; cp. i. 87. He was now sent to Upper Germany, while Petilius Cerialis was to take command in the lower province. On Cerialis, *v.* iii. 59. According to Josephus, Cerialis had been sent by Vespasian to Britain, and on his way arrived in the midst of the rebellion.

4. **summam belli**, 'the management of the war': cp. *A.* xiv. 7, *poscit summam sceleris.*

10. **ageret**: *v.* note on *agebat*, iii. 42.

annonae: the praefectus annonae had the care of the public granaries, and was thus responsible for the regular provisioning of the capital: cp. *A.* i. 7, where he takes rank with the praefectus praetorio next to the consuls.

12. **A. Clementem**, a brother of Titus' first wife: according to Suet. Dom. 11, *unus e familiaribus et emissariis* (Domitiani).

16, 17. **senat. ordinis**: Augustus first made it a rule to take praefecti praetorio from the equestrian order: an exception had already been made in the case of Tiberius' minister Sejanus.

17. **adsumuntur**, *i.e.* as companions of the expedition: *e civitate* may perhaps mean, as Heräus says, 'from the civilians,' as opposed to Gallus and Cerialis.

18. **per ambitionem** is opposed to *clarissimus quisque*, which practically means *alii propter claritatem.*

20. **moras nectens**: the same expression, iii. 52.

22. **invasisset** has rather the idea of coming with an evil result: *tamquam pestilentia*, Heräus says.

23. **victrices**: *sc.* from the Flavian legions.

octava, mentioned as taking its share in the recent campaign, iii. 10. 21. 27. The *undecima* was one of Otho's legions, and had originally been quartered in Pannonia.

24. **unaetvicensima**—called *Rapax*: it had formed the main strength of Caecina's army (i. 61). Its headquarters were at Vindonissa.

25. **secunda**, Adjutrix, composed of the marines who had deserted the Vitellian cause at Ravenna.

Poeninis Cottianisque: *v.* notes on i. 61.

Graio, *v.* note on ii. 66.

26. **xiv. leg. e Britannia**: cp. ii. 66. 86.

27. **sexta**, Victrix.

decuma, Gemina: cp. iii. 44.

29. **mitiora**, 'a soberer policy.'

LXIX.

2. **bona dissertans** : cp. note on *disserens*, iii. 81.

9. **Vindicis motus** : *v.* Introduction to Books I. and II. From what Tacitus says here, it appears that Vindex' rising was regarded by the Gauls as an assertion of national independence—whatever may have been the objects of Vindex himself.

11. **jus auspiciumque** : *à qui demanderait-on les ordres et les auspices?* (Louandre) : *sc.* whom were they to recognize as sovereign? Roman generals now received the *ius auspiciorum* from the emperor : formerly it was conferred by the people ; cp. Liv. xxii. 1, *quod enim illi* (Flaminio) *iustum imperium, quod auspicium esse?*

14. **per iurgia**, 'angrily.'

LXX.

2, 3. **suscepti discriminis** : Heräus points out that in German (and the same applies to English) the adj. and subst. would be reversed, and the phrase would be 'the dangerous undertaking.' So *e.g.* in *Aen.* vii. 351 *tortile aurum* would be rendered 'a golden chain.'

3. **in unum consulere** : cp. i. 68.

4. **avia Belgarum** : perhaps the marshy districts of Flanders, south of the mouth of the Scheld.

7. **superiorem R. ripam**, *i.e.* that part which was not controlled by the Vindonissa garrison : for the latter had taken no part so far in the war.

10. **per Raetiam** : cp. iii. 5, where Sextilius Felix holds the Inn valley. His present route would thus lead him over the Arlberg pass, and so past Feldkirch to Switzerland and the Upper Rhine.

11. **ala Singularium** : a body of cavalry composed of picked men (*singulares*) of various nationalities : raised by Galba, according to Heräus : but Orelli says they are mentioned in an inscription of the Augustan age. Hyginus classes them under *equites praetoriani*, making them an imperial bodyguard.

13. **Briganticus**, *praefectus alae*, ii. 22. He was slain in the battle on the Waal of v. 21.

14. **acerrima proximorum odia**: cp. the feud between Arminius and Segestes, of which Tacitus says (*A.* i. 55) *quaeque apud concordes vinculà caritatis incitamenta irarum apud infensos erant.*

16. **Vangionum**, in the neighbourhood of Borbetomagus (Worms): Triboci, in Alsace; Caeracates, not elsewhere mentioned. *Saravatium* (the people of the Saravus or Saar) has been suggested.

18. **legionariis**, the garrison of Mainz: *v.* 59.

21. **secutis**: earlier prose authors apparently do not use the perfect part. of a transitive deponent in the abl. abs. Notice that the time is subsequent to that of the principal verb.

23. **Bingium**: as Tutor appears to have occupied the left bank of the Nava (Nahe), either Bingium must have stood there, on the site of the modern Bingerbrück, or *Bingium concessit* is used loosely: for Bingen itself is on the right bank.

26. **vado**: the Nahe must then have been a more considerable stream than at present.

26, 27. **ea clade**: Ausonius (*Mosella*) calls this defeat 'the Cannae of Gaul': *aequavit Latias ubi quondam Gallia Cannas.*

30. **legiones**: i., xvi., cp. 62.

32. **in verba Vesp. adigunt**: their sixth change of allegiance since the beginning of the year 69.

35. **Mediomatricos**, in the neighbourhood of Metz (Divodurum, later Mettis).

LXXI.

4. **melior**, with the dative as here, supplies the place of the wanting comparative of *idoneus.*

6. **dilectus**, here a concrete subst. 'the men levied,' or levies, as we say: cp. 24, *missis per Galliam qui auxilia concirent.*

7. **imperio**, probably means 'for his command': *i.e.* he required no other soldiers than the legions.

legiones: i., xvi.

20. **Mogontiaci**: the men of the 4th and 22nd legions.

21. **tertiis castris**: from Mainz to Riol or Rigodulum is about 27 hours' march. The road from Bingen to Trier led through the 'Soonwald' and over the Hunsrück (the range of hills lying between the Rhine, Moselle, and Nahe) past Stromberg to Neumagen on the Moselle.

Rigodulum. About 9 miles below Trier, the hills receding from the right bank of the Moselle form a semicircle in which lie the villages of Longwich and Riol: the latter standing back from the river actually where the hills begin to ascend, and flanked on the west (the side nearest to Trier) by a low projecting spur now covered with corn-fields and orchards (the *aequiora iuga* of Tacitus). Valentinus had occupied this village, and as he no doubt expected to be attacked from the river bank, by which the Romans were advancing from Neumagen, he had strengthened his position on that side by *fossae obicesque saxorum.* But Cerialis did not only make a direct attack on these entrenchments: his cavalry rode some little way up the hills lying to the rear of Riol, and from thence charged down on the Treveri, who had manifestly left this side unfortified. Then either from the heights or from the river bank a detachment was sent by way of the 'gentler ascent' to cut off the enemies' retreat westwards towards Trier.

Evidently Valentinus had only partially fortified his position; but it is strange that—if Riol exactly corresponds to Rigodulum—he should have left it unprotected on the side of the *montes*, which are here not particularly steep.

23. **montibus aut Mos. amne**: *i.e.* on one side by the heights, on the other by the river.

29. **praevehuntur** (the nomin. is *equites*), 'were exposed to,' 'were running the gauntlet of': *i.e.* while the cavalry were making a détour up the hill so as to gain a point of vantage behind Riol, their flank would necessarily be exposed to the enemy's missiles: cp. ii. 2, *laeva maris praevectus.*

31. **aequioribus iugis**, 'up a gentler ascent.'

32. **Belgarum**, sc. *Treverorum et Lingonum.*

in quis: Cicero and Caesar would say 'in his.'

LXXII.

1. **coloniam Treverorum**: Trier. It was founded by Nero or Claudius, and was in later times the Capital of the province 'Belgica prima,' and a residence of Roman emperors: hence called by Ausonius (*Mosella*, 380) *imperii sedes.* At

this day it possesses the most extensive Roman remains of any town north of the Alps. On its history see Prof. Freeman's Essay (Augusta Treverorum).

4, 5. **quid ... meruisse**, sc. *quod scelus admisisse.*

5. **gremio Italiae**, 'the heart of Italy,' as we should say.

8. **in fiscum**, the emperor's privy purse.

10. **pensarentur**, 'balanced': cp. Agr. 22, *damna eventibus pensare.*

14. **legionum**, i., xvi.

22. **vocem precesque** is a hendiadys, as also **lacrimis ac silentio**: 'open entreaty,' 'silent tears.'

LXXIII.

3. **exercui**: cp. Liv. xxviii. 27, *non quo verba unquam potius quum res exercuerim.*

7. **profligato**: properly the word means 'almost finished': cp. ii. 4.

9, 10. **duces imperatoresque**: when the two words are in juxtaposition, *dux* generally means the lieutenant as distinguished from the commander-in-chief: cp. Caes. *B. G.* vi. 8, *praestate eandem nobis ducibus virtutem quam saepenumero imperatori praestitistis.*

12. **acciti auxilio Germani** under Ariovistus: cp. Caes. *B. G.* i. 31.

15, 16. **Germ. bella**: under Tiberius, Drusus, and Germanicus.

18. **alius**: one would expect 'alter.'

23. **paludibus**: cp. Germ. 5, *terra in universum aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda.*

26, 27. **alienum serv. et dom. sibi**: *alienum* is for *aliis* or *sibi* for *suam.* Notice also the chiasmus.

LXXIV.

2. **in nostrum ius concederetis**, 'united yourselves with us,' a less offensive expression than *in dicionem concederetis*, 'submitted to us': cp. Sall. *Cat.* 20, *postquam in ius atque dicionem concessit.*

8. **ipsi**, etc. : since the admission of Gauls to the R. franchise in 48 A.D., they might often (*plerumque*) hold high commands: for instance, Vindex, propraetor of Gaul, was a native of the country.

11. **proximis ingruunt**, 'injure none but those nearest to them.'

12. **sterilitatem**, etc. : cp. Seneca *de Const. Sap.* 9, *omnia igitur sic patitur sapiens ut hiemis rigorem et intemperantiam caeli.*

21. **disciplina**, 'political traditions. Plutarch *de Fort. Rom.* has a similar passage : the Roman empire grew by *τύχη καὶ ἀρετῇ* to be *πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἑστία ἱερὰ ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ὀνησιδώρα καὶ πεῖσμα μόνιμον καὶ στοιχεῖον ἀίδιον.*

24. **aurum et opes** : cp. 17, *validissimae ditissimaeque nationes* (the Gallic provinces).

25. **proinde**, hortative, as usual.

26. **eodem iure**, both holding the same status as Roman citizens. Or perhaps it means, that the victors had as good a right to the town as its inhabitants, their defeated opponents.

27. **utriusque fortunae** : the evil fate of rebels and the success of the loyal.

LXXV.

2. **epistulas**, 'a letter' : cp. i. 67.

7, 9. **velit ... mallet** : there seems to be no special reason for the change of tense : cp. 20, *si nemo obsisteret ... sin occurrant.*

10. **ipsas epist.**, the reading of M : Heräus reads *ipsis* (after *misit*).

13. **culpabant**, used with acc. and inf. on the analogy of such words as *criminari* or *arguere.*

15. **intutis**, *sc.* not fortified. But the word is not well placed, and looks rather like a gloss on *temere.*

LXXVI.

2. **Civilis** : the predicate *censebat* or something of that kind is easily supplied from *sententiis.*

5. **roboris** : cp. Caes. *B. G.* i. 1, *Gallorum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae.*

5. **voto**, 'in their hearts.'

8. **e Brit. legionem**, the 14th: cp. 68; the vi. Victrix and x. from Spain; the viii., xi., xxi. from Italy.

10. **subitum**, *i.e.* hastily levied.

veterem: cp. 20, *veteres militiae*; and for *expertum*, *Aen.* x. 173, *expertos belli.*

14. **et neminem**: the ordinary phrase would be *nec quemquam.*

22. **adulescentuli**: alluding to Valentinus.

quam, for *magis quam*: cp. iii. 70.

25. **precariam**, *sc.* the fact that they had so often had to beg their lives of their conqueror.

29. **exsequuntur**, sc. *consilium*: 'they proceeded to the execution.'

LXXVII.

1. **Lingonibus**: they still formed part of Civilis' army. though their country had nominally submitted to the Romans.

3. **montibus**, 'over the hills': cp. 71, *aequioribus iugis circumvecta.*

The colonia Treverorum stood where Trier now stands on the right bank of the Moselle: to protect it against Civilis, whose forces were in the district north-west of the town, the legions were encamped on the left bank, guarding the road which ran between the river and the parallel line of hills. Apparently they were near the bridge, of which the modern bridge is probably the direct descendant: some of its piers are said to be Roman. Civilis attacked them from two sides, at once from the hills and from the upper banks of the river: the Roman camp was stormed, and communication with the town cut off by the occupation of the bridge. Cerialis had been passing the night on the right bank: on the news of the attack he hastened to the bridge and succeeded in recovering it, whence he proceeded to the camp.

9. **legionum.** i., xvi. They had both surrendered at Novaesium; but as one of them had its headquarters at Bonn, Tac. can speak of them as *captae apud Nov. Bonnamque.*

10. **medius**, *i.e.* between him and his army. **Ulteriora** simply means the other bank: we need not suppose a suburb.

20. **proditio**: it was by the cry of 'treason' that they had justified the deaths of Flaccus and Vocula.

24. **ite, nuntiate,** etc. Cerialis, *turbidis rebus intrepidus*, had according to Tac. presence of mind enough to remember and imitate an address of Sulla in a similar crisis: cp. Plut. *Sull.* 21.

LXXVIII.

2. **per cohortes**, 'in cohorts': cp. the same expression 66.

3. **patescere**: instead of the more usual *explicari*.

6. **pugnam ciebant**: cp. *pugnam ciens*, ii. 25.

unaetvicensima, one of Vitellius' legions: cp. 68.

12. **cohortium**, *i.e.*, auxiliaries.

17, 18. **ut...ita**, 'although...yet,' as often, especially in Livy.

18. **secutus fortunam**, 'following up his success.'

LXXIX.

1. **in longum**: cp. 22, note.

6. **invocantium**, *sc.* Cerialem.

9. **Chaucis**, settled between the Ems and Weser.

10. **Tolbiaci**, Zulpich, a town of the Ubii, S.W. of Cologne.

15. **circumsteterat** picturesquely expresses that he had fears from another quarter as well.

16, 17. **Brit. classe**: the British coast was a regular station for part of the Roman fleet.

18. **terrestri itinere**: the legions were landed at Gessoriacum (Boulogne), whence a road, still traceable, led to Bagacum Nerviorum (Bavai), Aduatuca Tungrorum (Tongres), and the Colonia Agrippinensis.

20. **ultro**, without being themselves attacked: cp. i. 7, note.

27. **lacerabant**, 'damaged': cp. the same expression Liv. xxxviii. 54

LXXX.

The narrative of the war is interrupted and not resumed till v. 14.

1. **Vit. filium** : on whom *v.* ii. 53.

3. **semina belli restinxisset** : a curious confusion of metaphors. Cic. can even say *aquam exstinguere.*

4. **comites**: the amici or comites of the emperor almost held a distinct official rank : they were in general his ministers or advisers, and were often obliged to attend his person. It was said of Domitian that he was a bad emperor, but had excellent ministers : the *proceres* of Juvenal's Fourth Satire.

6. **adeo** : *v.* i. 9, note.

9. **trahebatur**, sc. *imperator* : for a similar abrupt change of subject cp. iii. 77, *reliquae in litore captae aut .. mare hausit.*

13. **neque ipse deerat vocare** : on the construction, *v.* note on i. 22 ; *vocare*, the simple verb instead of the commoner compound, according to Tacitus' practice : cp. v. 25, *sin populum R. armis vocent.*

14. **nimius**, etc., ' too fond of insisting on his services ': cp. i. 35, *nimii verbis.*

16. **dediticium**, properly, one who has surrendered at discretion ; on the details of Caecina's change of sides, *v.* iii. 13.

LXXXI.

2. **statos aest. flatibus dies**, ' the regular season of the summer winds,' the east winds blowing from the end of May till the latter part of July ; after which navigation would be hindered by the north-west or ' Etesian ' winds, continuing for about 40 days ; cp. ii. 98 and *A.* vi. 33.

6. **oculorum tabe** = caecitate : the man was *luminibus orbatus*, Suet. Vesp. 7.

6, 7. **genua eius advolvitur.** Sallust has this construction once, instead of the commoner *genibus advolvi.*
Tacitus is fond of constructing such compounds with the accusative—*advehi*, *incidere*, *irrumpere*, etc. Cicero and Caesar in general avoid this usage.

10. **oculorum orbes**, poetical for 'oculos,' as *oris excrementum* for 'saliva.' Soph. *Ant.* 974, *ὀμμάτων κύκλοι*. Cp. Tacitus' use of *debilitas pedum* for 'podagra.' For the use of spittle in such works of healing cp. St. Mark's Gospel, viii. 22.

11. **manum aeger**: cp. Germ. 7, *nudae brachia*. Suetonius says it was the leg that was affected.

14. **vanitatis** surely means 'foolish presumption,' not 'failure,' as Heräus renders it.

20. **elapsos in pravum**, 'distorted.'

23, 24. **inriti ludibrium penes miseros**, *sc.* it was the afflicted man and not the emperor who would be a laughing-stock if the attempt were to fail.

24, 25. **cuncta fortunae suae patere**: for the belief in Vespasian as the 'man of destiny' cp. ii. 82, *sufficere videbantur ... Vespasiani nomen et nihil arduum fatis*.

28, 29. **nunc quoque**, in the reign of Trajan, when the Histories were published.

LXXXII.

2. **sacram sedem**, the temple of Serapis.

5. **Basiliden**: the truth of the story is not confirmed by the identity of the name with that of the priest of Carmel spoken of ii. 78. Suet. calls this man '*libertus*.'

12. **tunc divinam speciem**, etc.: Vesp. saw that the god himself had assumed the person of Basilides, and inferred that his so doing was a prophecy of the Flavian sovereignty (*βασιλεία*).

LXXXIII.

1. **origo dei**; not, of course, Serapis, but the foreign deity who was in some way identified with him. Tac. in fact implies what Plutarch (*de Iside et Osiride*, 28) says distinctly—that the Sinopite god was not originally called Serapis, but received the name in Egypt. *οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενος ἧκεν ἀλλ' εἰς 'Αλεξάνδρειαν κομισθεὶς τὸ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὄνομα τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἐκτήσατο τὸν Σάραπιν.*

It is quite possible that the story, as given in Tacitus, is altogether apocryphal. Suidas and Strabo associate the cult of Serapis or this kindred deity with Memphis. Dionys. Periegetes (254) speaks of *Σινωπίταο Διὸς μεγάλοιο μέλαθρον* at

Alexandria, commenting on which Eustathius says Σινωπίτης δὲ Ζεὺς, ἢ ὁ Μεμφίτης. Σινώπιον γὰρ ὄρος Μεμφίδος. ἢ ἀπὸ Σινώπης τῆς Ποντικῆς. φέρεται καὶ τοιοῦτος λόγος ὅτι—and then he gives the Tacitean story. Possibly the Σινώπιον ὄρος gives the clue to the truth, and the story about Sinope gained credence through Greek influence at the Ptolemaic Court.

The length at which Tacitus dwells on the story is due perhaps to the vogue which Egyptian worships had obtained at Rome.

auctoribus = *scriptoribus*: cp. i. 1.

2. **Ptolemaeo,** Soter, the founder of the dynasty of the Lagidae (306 B.C.).

15. **Eumolpidarum,** the Attic family in whom was vested the priesthood of the Eleusinian Demeter.

18. **meassent,** instead of the more usual compound *commeassent.*

19. **Sinopen** (Sinub), the oldest colony of Miletus on the south coast of the Euxine: in its later days the residence of the kings of Pontus.

22. **regum**: *rex* and *regius* conveying to a Roman mind rather the idea of an 'Oriental despotism' than a 'constitutional' monarchy.

24. **quam religionum** for *potius quam rel.*: cp. 76.

30. **sors,** 'the answer': a poetical and post-classical use.

31. **patris**: either we should read *patrui*, or the Pythian priestess is mistaken as to the relationship.

LXXXIV.

2, 3. **diversus animi**: Orelli after M, versus *animi.*

3. **numen pavescere**: cp. iii. 56, *vulnus pavens.*

9. **deo,** either the god of Sinope, or the Pythian Apollo: the dative in the first case is 'ethic,' in the second that of the agent.

13. **aversari,** with accusative as i. 38, *adoptionem aversantes.*

18. **pro magnitudine urbis**: according to Dionys. Periegetes l.c. the temple was χρυσῷ τιμήεντι κεκοσμένον· οὐκ ἂν ἐκείνου Νηὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι θεώτερον ἄλλον ἴδοιο.

18. **loco**: notice the Tacitean use of the local ablative without an attribute.

19. **Rhacotis**: the quarter of Alexandria nearest to the docks.

22. **Ptolemaeo**, Pt. Euergetes.

22. **Seleucia Suriae**, on the coast, a little to the west of Antioch.

24. **columen** Heräus interprets here and ii. 28 as the 'crowning ornament': others translate it 'support." The word is an architectural term: Vitruv. iv. 2, *sub tectis si maiora spatia sunt columen ponitur in summo fastigio culminis*: from which it is obvious that it may be used either in the sense of 'support' or 'summit.'

28. **Ditem**, *i.e.* Serapis.

insignibus: '*insignia autem Serapidis Cerberus et draco ad latera, modius in capite, latum pallium, quo ut Pluto involutus est*' (Orelli).

29. **per ambages** seems to mean 'by some far-fetched interpretation,' possibly allegorical.

LXXXV.

1. **Dom. Mucianusque**: *v.* 68.

13. **interventurum**, 'interfere with.'

16. **Luguduni**: Domitian was thus not taking the direct route (over the Great St. Bernard, and down the Rhine) to the seat of war.

18. **non defuturus.** Josephus asserts, with the flattery of a courtier, that it was the rumour of Domitian's approach which induced the barbarians to surrender at discretion (*Bell. Jud.* 7. 4). In a similar spirit of adulation Silius Italicus can write—*At tu transcendes, Germanice, facta tuorum, Iam puer auricomo praeformidate Batavo* (iii. 607).

LXXXVI.

1. **Intellegebantur**, etc. The meaning seems to be: Dom. saw through Mucianus' plots: but so skilful was Muc. in his obsequiousness that the prince could get no handle for exposing and thwarting them. Heräus and Wolff apparently suppose the *obsequium* to be Domitian's (D. was obsequious enough to pretend that he was deceived): but *obsequium* on the part of a prince towards his ministers seems unnatural.

5. **traditurus foret** = *tr. esset:* a substitution which shows how completely the future sense of *forem* had been lost. Livy too has *futurum foret* (xxii. 57) and similar instances.

8. **temperamento**, probably means simply 'an expedient': but Wolff apparently takes it in the sense of 'disposition,' making it an attribute of Cerialis.

9. **elusit**, 'parried his proposal.'

12, 13. **in altitudinem conditus**, 'shrouding himself in a profound reserve.' Suetonius (Dom. 2) says *simulavit et ipse mire modestiam imprimisque poeticae studium tam insuetum antea sibi quam postea spretum et abjectum.* Quintilian's more favourable judgment carries the less weight as it was wrung from him *ab infausta necessitate*, as Orelli says: *Germanicum Augustum ab institutis studiis deflexit curra terrarum, parumque dis visum est, esse eum maximum poetarum. Quid tamen sublimius, doctius*, etc. (x. 1). The same sort of flattery is to be found in Martial, Sil. Italicus, and the elder Pliny.

16. **contra interpretabatur**, 'put on it an entirely different construction': so practically 'misunderstood.'

LIBER V.

I.

1. **Eiusdem anni**: A.D. 70.

Caesar: *v.* iii. 86 note.

1, 2. **perdom. Iudaeae**: cp. iv. 51, *validissimam exercitus partem Tito tradit ad reliqua Iudaici belli perpetranda.*

2. **privatis utriusque rebus**, as opposed to *fortuna principalis*: cp. the same expression iii. 65.

3. **militia clarus**: as military tribune in Germany and Britain, and commander of a legion in Judaea.

5. **super fortunam**, *i.e.* able to disregard, not unduly elated by his high position.

9, 10. **tres eum ... tertianosque**: *v.* i. 10, notes. The 22nd and 3rd legions were only represented by 2000 vexillarii. (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* 5. i).

15. **Agrippa Sohaemusque**: *v.* 2. 81, notes: also on Antioch.

17, 18. **urbe atque Italia** : for the simple ablative cp. 13, *profecti Judaea.*

18. **occupandi**, etc. : to be beforehand in gaining the emperor's favour while he was still unbiassed. Cp. i. 56, *occupari nutantem fortunam.*

21. **decernere**, used absolutely, in the sense of 'to fight': cp. Liv. iii. 62.

haud procul Hierosolymis: Josephus, 5. 2, gives the exact spot: *στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὸν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων πατρίως Ἀκανθῶν αὐλῶνα καλούμενον, πρός τινι κώμῃ Γαβαθσαούλῃ λεγομένῃ ... διέχων ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὅσον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων.*

II.

Tacitus' sketch of Jewish history is interesting as representing a Roman point of view, but has no independent value. Partly it is derived from sources entirely unknown to us : partly based on non-Jewish and often obviously untrustworthy authorities. The historian has nowhere made use of either Josephus or the LXX. As to Josephus, it is possible that his works were not yet accessible : but it is not easy to see why so careful an author as Tacitus should have entirely omitted to consult the LXX., in spite of the difficulties it would present to him. We can scarcely satisfy ourselves with Duebner's explanation, *Tacitus in partem venisse videtur eius contemptus, quo populus terrarum dominus afficiebat Judaeos, neque cognitos habuisse aut voluisse noscere illos libros ex quibus solis vera peti poterant.*

4. **Creta**. This story is not found anywhere except in Tacitus. It is possible to explain its origin in several ways : 1, by the similarity between *Idaei* and *Iudaei*: 2, by the fact that the Jewish Sabbath was identical with the *Saturni dies*, and Crete was the home of the worship of Saturn. It is possible also that traditions may have existed of a Phoenician migration from Crete into Africa, dimly recalling the foundation of Carthage and the great Phoenician cities of the coast : and that the Jews may have been confused with their Phoenician neighbours. Cretans (?) are mentioned in connection with Philistines, 2 Samuel, viii. 18.

The legend of Cronos' expulsion by Zeus seems to point to the superseding of an old by a new religion : it may be supposed that Crete was the scene of an exceptionally violent collision between the rival cults. Tacitus is the only author who

represents the *Idaei* as part of the population of Crete: elsewhere they are *δαίμονες*, or *genii*—cp. Plut. *de facie in orbe Lunae*, 26, 12—and legends in general speak of them as attendants of Zeus, not Cronos.

novissima Libyae: cp. *A*. ii. 24, *novissimum ac sine terris mare:* Ov. *Trist*. 3. 13. 27, *pars novissima terrarum.*

8, 9. **aucto in barb. cognomento**, 'the name being lengthened into a foreign word.'

10. **regnante Iside**: Plut. also (*de Iside et Os*. 31) connects the Jewish migration with Isis. The two leaders here mentioned are of course simply eponymous heroes, born of the names Hierosolyma and Iudaci.

12. **exoneratam**, *sc*. the superfluous population was got rid of by being transferred: cp. Liv. xxiv. 29, *ad multitudinem inconditam exonerandam.*

13. **rege Cepheo**, father of Andromeda, whose story is generally localized at the Phoenician town of Joppa: Pliny (ix. 15), as well as Tacitus, confuses Jews and Phoenicians, speaking of *oppidum Iudaeae Ioppe.*

14. **Assyrios convenas**: a story which seems to have some connection with the Scriptural traditions of the migration of Abraham. Justin (36. 2) places the origin of the Jews in Damascus, a city ruled by Assyrian kings: *nomen urbi a Damasco rege inditum ... Post Damascum Azelus, mox Adores et Abraham et Israhel reges fuere. Convenas* seems to mean 'immigrants.'

17. **clara alii Iud. initia**: 'illustrious' because referred to by Homer. *Il*. 6. 184, *Σολύμοισι μαχήσατο κυδαλίμοισιν.* Od. 5. 282, *τῆλοθεν ἐκ Σολύμων ὀρέων ἴδεν.*

The connection of the Jews with the Solymi (generally represented as settled in Lycia) is of course altogether fanciful, and to be traced to the name Hierosolyma, on the supposition that this meant *ἱερὸν Σολύμων*. This Greek equivalent for the name of the holy city is found in the Apocrypha: generally the LXX. word is Ἱερουσαλήμ. Juvenal, vi. 544, speaks of *leges Solymae*, *i.e.* Jewish.

III.

1. **plurimi auctores.** Tacitus' version of the Exodus appears to be based mainly on the narrative of Lysimachus Alexandrinus, a writer of the second century B.C., whose relation is preserved by Josephus (*c. Apion*. 1. 34): and the

story coincides at different points with that given by Manetho (ap. Josephum et Theophilum), Chaeremon (ap. Josephum), Diodorus, Strabo, Trogus Pompeius, and Justin.

There is a chronological difficulty as to Bocchoris: the only known king of that name reigned 763-720 B.C., while the date of the Jewish migration is generally placed about 1500 B.C. or earlier.

2. **tabe**, according to Justin, 36. 2, leprosy: *scabies et vitiligo.*

3. **Hammonis oraculo**, according to Heräus situated in the modern oasis of Siwah, S.E. of the tableland of Barka.

7. **vastis locis** : cp. Justin, 36. 2.

8, 9. **ne quam deorum**, etc. As the text stands, Moses' advice seems to be: Deserted as you are by gods and men alike, trust only to yourselves, as you have a heaven-sent guide in whatever shall relieve you from your present misery: the *dux caelestis* will thus be represented by the herd of wild asses. **pepulissent** would in the *oratio recta* be *pepuleritis: duce caelesti* is an ablative absolute. Tacitus' narrative seems to indicate a change from polytheism to monotheism: the Jews are to forget their old gods and trust to the one Deity, who will make his presence known by some saving sign.

This is the sense if we read *duce* with M: but other MSS. have *duci*, which would be in apposition with *sibimet* and refer to Moses himself. This latter reading gives the best sense, but the ablative has better MS. authority. Wolff after Andresen reads *ducem caelestem:* Ritter conjectures *sed sibimet duces caeleste id crederent.*

13. **inopia aquae** : cp. Exodus, 15-23.

16. **coniectura herbidi soli**, *i.e.* inferring the presence of water from the grassy nature of the ground.

18. **sex dierum iter** : cp. Justin, *l.c.*

19, 20. **urbs et templum dicata.** zeugma: for *urbs condita et templum dicatum.*

IV.

2. **contrarios ceteris mortalibus** = *contrarios ceterorum mortalium ritibus.*

4. **quae nobis incesta** : *e.g.* marriage between an uncle and niece.

4. **animalis**, the wild ass. This introduction of the ass into Jewish tradition and worship may possibly have arisen from a confusion of Israelitish migration with the Egyptian legend of the seven days' flight of Typhon on an ass: Plutarch indeed distinctly says that the myth of Typhon is by some interwoven with the beginnings of Jewish history, but that it is a mere confusion (*De Iside et Osiride*, 31). According to Diodorus, Antiochus Epiphanes saw in the Temple at Jerusalem a figure of a man riding on an ass, and supposed it to represent Moses.

6. **caeso ariete** = *et arietem caedunt.* Egyptian art represented Ammon as a horned deity. For these sacrifices cp. Leviticus, xvi. 3. From this point to the end of the chapter Tacitus is right in his facts: but his explanations are wrong.

8. **memoria cladis**: M has *merito cladis.*

10. **crebris ieiuniis**: Moses instituted only one yearly fast, on the great day of expiation, the tenth day of the seventh month: but many others were afterwards introduced. The Pharisees 'fasted twice in the week.'

11. **raptarum frugum argumentum**: for the right reason for this *v.* Deuteronomy, xvi. 3.

12, 13. **septimo die otium**: Tacitus is confusing the ordinary Sabbath with the seven days' Feast of Tabernacles, which did commemorate the desert sojourn.

14. **septimum annum**: on the Jewish sabbatical year, *v.* Leviticus, xxv. 4.

17. **Saturno**: the Greeks and Romans had adopted the Egyptian custom of naming days after the planets, and the day of Saturn corresponded to the Jewish Sabbath.

20. **feratur** probably means 'moves,' and is not equivalent to *credatur*, which latter word would be out of place in connection with so well known a fact as that implied in *altissimo orbe.*

21, 22. **septenos per numeros compleant.** M has *septimos per numeros commearent:* Orelli following most MSS. reads *septimos per numeros commeare.* Other suggestions have been *conficiant* and *coniiciant.*

The late Mr. J. H. Onions doubted the genuineness of the whole clause (*Journal of Philology*, 1889). "*Commeare* can hardly be right, as it is beyond all doubt that celestial bodies do move in multiples of seven, and Tacitus would not be likely to mention this as a mere theory introduced by *ferunt.* In

fact the whole of the last clause from *ac* to *compleant* seems out of place here, as it gives the reason why it is the seventh day which is kept holy, not why the compliment is paid to Saturn in particular. Is it not probable that the whole of the clause is a marginal gloss on the previous sentence, *septimo die otium placuisse ferunt quia is finem laborum tulerit*, which has been introduced into the text in the wrong place?"

V.

3. **pessimus quisque**, etc. All Jews, proselytes and others, sent or brought annual contributions to the Temple: and the Jews settled outside Palestine in the time of Tacitus are reckoned at four millions. Josephus says (*Antiq. Jud.* vii. 2): "Let no one wonder at the wealth of our temple, seeing that all the Jews in the world had long been contributing to it." Cic. *pro Flacco*, 28, *cum aurum Iudaeorum nomine quotannis ex Italia et ex omnibus provinciis Hierosolyma asportari soleret, Flaccus sanxit edicto, ne ex Asia exportari liceret.*

5. **et quia**: sc. *et auctae etiam propterea quia.*

7. **hostile odium**: an accusation brought also against the Christians: cp. *A.* xv. 44. The Mosaic law inculcated the very reverse of this 'hostile odium': but the charge was no doubt partially justified by Jewish exclusiveness. Cp. such passages as John xviii. 28: "They themselves entered not into the judgment hall lest they should be defiled." Philostratus, *Apollonius of Tyana*, v. 11: "The Jews are farther from us than the natives of Susa or Bactria or India." Diodorus, xxxiv. 1: "They consider all men their enemies."

9. **inter se**: one would rather expect *inter ipsos.*

10, 11. **transgressi**: οἱ μεταστάντες: a not very common use of the participle: cp. *A.* ii. 69 *missi a Pisone incusabantur.*

On the proselytising zeal of the Pharisees, *v.* Matth. xxiii. 15.

12. **inbuuntur**, equivalent to *discunt*, hence used with the infinitive.

contemnere deos: cp. Plin. *N.H.* xiii. 4: *gens contumelia numinum insignis.* The Romans easily assimilated other polytheistic religions: but they could not understand Jewish monotheism.

15. **ex agnatis.** *Agnatus* has not here its common sense in Roman law of a relative on the father's side: it means a child born in addition, beyond the number specified in the

father's will : *super numerum patri vel gratum vel destinatum sive post testamentum factum sive ex secundo matrimonio'* (Heräus) : Greek, *ἐπίγονος.* Cic. *de Or.* i. 57, *constat agnascendo rumpi testamentum.* Cp. Germ. 19, *numerum liberorum finire aut quemquam ex agnatis necare flagitium habetur.* Precautions against the birth or survival of such children were not a '*flagitium*' in Roman eyes.

16. **suppliciis peremptorum** : provided they be martyrs for their country or religion.

17. **condere,** etc. *Condere* of course goes with **e more Aegyptio** : **eademque cura** means that the Jews treat the dead in the same way : not strictly true, as the Jewish custom was not to 'mummify' the body, but to anoint it with spices. Cp. John, xix. 40, *ἔλαβον οὖν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἔδησαν αὐτὸ ὀθονίοις μετὰ τῶν ἀρωμάτων, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνταφιάζειν.* Heräus reads, *condere quam cremare e more Aegyptio cura, eademque est de infernis,* etc. The sense is very much the same. Burning of dead bodies was not recognised by Mosaic law. Under the kings it was customary, but appears never to have been practised after the Babylonian captivity.

19. **caelestium** : a variation of construction, for *de caelestibus.*

21. **mente sola** : Tacitus at least gives no evidence of holding the common belief that the Jews worshipped the sky : Juv. xiv. 97 says, *nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant.* Strabo, xvi. 2, expresses much the same idea. Cp. *Germ.* ix. *deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod sola reverentia vident* (speaking of the Germans).

profanos means here 'profane' or 'impious': the commoner word would be '*nefarios.*'

28. **vitis aurea,** mentioned by Josephus (*Bell. Iud.* 5. 5), as having *βότρυες ἀνδρομήκεις* : also *Antiq. Jud.* 15. 11.

29. **Liberum** : this extraordinary fancy is supported by Plutarch (*Sympos.* 4, 6).

32. **absurdus sordidusque,** 'uncouth and mean.'

VI.

2, 3. **ab occasu Phoenices** : west, not of Judaea proper, but of Galilee, which Tacitus includes under the name Judaea.

4. **Suriae**, Coelosyria properly speaking, between Lebanon and Antilebanon. 'Septentrionem,' etc., would naturally mean that from the frontier that touches Syria there is an extensive view to the northward ; but Orelli apparently supposes the point of view to be Jerusalem, which "looks far to the north in the direction of Syria," *i.e.* is separated from Syria by a wide extent of territory to the north. This does not seem probable. Burnouf translates *le septentrion apparait dans le lointain du côté de la Syrie.*

Most likely Tacitus is thinking of the general elevation of the whole country, and more especially of the far view to the north from the high range of Lebanon: "from a mountain sanctuary, as it were, Israel looked over the world" (Stanley).

salubria: this and *uber solum* would refer more especially to Galilee. Judaea itself was far less fertile, although 'a land of milk and honey' in contrast with the surrounding deserts. No doubt the destruction of the woods has caused the country to be even more exposed than in ancient times to the evils of drought.

6. **nostrum ad morem** : the same as the products of Italy.

balsamum et palmae, especially in the neighbourhood of Jericho, and also in other parts of the valley of the Jordan : according to Josephus, balsam was said to have been introduced into Judaea by the Queen of Sheba. Justin, 36. 3, says *opes genti ex vectigalibus opobalsami crevere, quod in his tantum regionibus gignitur.* Cp. Hor. *Epp.* ii. 2. 184, *Herodis palmeta.* There are scarcely any palms now in Palestine.

9. **pavent**, 'shrink': Plin. *N. H.* 12. 25 (the *locus classicus* on the balsam) personifies the shrub in the same way: *ferro laedi vitalia odit.* The sap of the balsam was myrrh.

11. **in usu medentium** : cp. Plin. *l.c.*

Libanum : Tacitus is apparently speaking of the peak of Hermon, the southern summit of Antilebanon, nearly 9,000 feet high : "a long ascent of snow" (Stanley).

12. **erigit**, *sc. terra.* The descriptive phrases in this chapter are poetical throughout : *pavent venae, fidum nivibus.*

15. **unum atque alterum lacum** ; first the lake of Merom, then the lake of Gennesareth.

integer, *i.e.* with an undiminished body of water. The Jordan, after emerging from the Lake of Gennesareth, descends rapidly through a fall of 1,000 feet, traversing a

deep valley (*El Ghor*), till it reaches the Dead Sea. Van de Velde compares its winding course between the hills to "a monster serpent chained in the yawning gulf."

16. **lacus immenso ambitu**: about 40 miles long by 9 broad: 1,300 feet below the level of the sea.

17. **sapore corruptior**: "the saline particles in the water of the ocean are 4 per cent., that of the Dead Sea contains 26¼ per cent." (Stanley, who further says: "The excessive saltness is, it is believed, mainly occasioned by the huge barrier of fossil salt at its S.W. corner, and heightened by the rapid evaporation of the fresh water poured into it.") Even the water of the Dead Sea is said to be less salt than that of Lakes Elton and Urumia in Central Asia.

accolis pestifer: a myth.

19. **inertes undae.** Orelli reads *incertae* (M, *incertes*). This would mean according to him, 'waves of which it is hard to say whether they are really water or not.' According to Heräus, the adjective is simply an epitheton ornans. On the whole, Orelli's meaning is preferable, though neither are satisfactory. On the buoyancy of the water, cp. Kinglake's description of his own experience (in *Eothen*, ch. xiii.). According to Josephus, Vespasian caused men to be thrown into the water, bound hand and foot, yet they did not sink.

21. **certo anni**; considering the occurrence of such phrases as *medio diei* (i. 62), it is unnecessary to add *tempore* which is written above the line in M, and is manifestly a gloss.

bitumen: the collection of asphalt was and is the solitary industry of the Dead Sea shores. As to its details, the account given by the *gnari locorum* appears to be correct.

23. **sparso** = *adsperso*: a substitution unknown to earlier prose.

24, 25. **summa navis**, 'the deck.' This is understood after *onerat* below.

29. **undantes bitumine moles**, 'masses of floating asphalt.' Josephus—whose account of the Dead Sea tallies generally with that given by Tacitus—speaks of blocks of asphalt as big as *ταῦροι ἀκέφαλοι*, *B. J.* iv. 8.

VII.

3. **arsisse**: the reference is of course to the 'cities of the plain,' Sodom and Gomorrah, destroyed by fire according to Genesis, xix.: probably by volcanic agency. On the assump-

tion that the story implies some kind of eruption or earthquake, Dean Stanley is inclined to connect with the destruction of the cities, the formation of the salt mountains adjacent to the Dead Sea : a theory confirmed, as he says, by the story of the pillar of salt (*Sinai and Palestine*, ch. vii.).

3, 4. **specie torridam** : the lake lies in a bare, stony valley.

5. **sive herba tenus**, etc., *i.e.* whether in leaf, flower, or fruit : this appears to be the meaning whether we read *solita* or *solida species*. Josephus, *B. J.* iv. 8, gives a similar account of this 'Dead Sea fruit,' and he is confirmed by the evidence of modern travellers.

9. **superfusum spiritum**, 'the surrounding atmosphere': Cicero also uses *spiritus* in this way; cp. *Cat.* i. 15, *caeli spiritus ;* iv. 7, *hic communis spiritus.*

11. **Belus** : Tacitus here turns to an altogether different subject, the Belus or Naman, the second river of Palestine, rising in the Galilaean highlands, and flowing into the sea near Ptolemais (Acco). Tacitus' account is practically the same as that given by Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvi. 26), Strabo and Josephus.

13. **modicum** : according to Pliny (*l.c.*) about 500 paces long.

et, in the sense of 'and yet': cp. iii. 56, *iucundum et laesurum.*

13, 14. **egerentibus**, dat. of agent : cp. note on i. 11.

VIII.

1. **vicis dispergitur.** In Galilee, Josephus counted 204 villages and 11 towns on an area of 90-100 square miles. Stanley (*Sinai and Palestine*, ch. ii.) says : "The countless ruins of Palestine, of whatever date they may be, tell us at a glance, that we must not judge the resources of the ancient land by its present depressed and desolate state. They show us not only that 'Syria might support tenfold its present population, and bring forth tenfold its present produce,' but that it actually did so."

2. **Hierosolyma.** Roughly speaking, Jerusalem stands on a high tableland, intersected by depressions, and terminating on every side except the north in deep ravines—the valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat. These natural fortifications made

attack on three sides almost impossible: to the north-west the city was protected, as Tacitus says, by not one, but several lines of fortification. From the text we should infer three concentric lines of wall. This would be quite a wrong conclusion; but Tacitus' expression is justified by the fact that an army, in order to make itself master of the entire city, must gain three or even four walls. There were "four distinct towns, each requiring a separate siege" (Milman). Within the first wall lay the suburb of Bezetha. Immediately to the south of this lay Acra (the lower part of the city), the fortified hill of Moriah, crowned by the Temple and Turris Antonia, and Mount Sion (with the *regia*); each quarter surrounded by its own wall.

genti caput; Jerusalem was the Jewish, but Caesarea the Roman, capital, the seat of the procurator: whence Tacitus calls the latter place *Iudaeae caput* (ii. 78).

3, 4. **dein regia**: Mercier's correction of the reading in M, *deingia*.

4, 5. **ad fores tantum**; cp. Luke, i. 9, 10; Jos. *B. J.* v. 5, *περιέστεφε τόν τε ναὸν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν εὔλιθόν τε καὶ χαρίεν γείσιον ὅσον πηχυαῖον ὕψος, ὃ διεῖργεν ἐξωτέρω τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερέων.*

6. **arcebantur**, the past tense, because Tacitus writes after the destruction of the Temple.

The narrative changes its subject, without however beginning a fresh sentence.

6, 7. **Assyrios penes Medosque**: *v.* note on ii. 78.

8. **Macedones**, the Seleucid dynasty in Syria.

9. **Antiochus**, Antiochus IV., Epiphanes: called by the Jews Epimanes, 'the madman': he reigned 176-164 B.C. His consistent persecution of the Jews aroused the resistance of the heroic Maccabaean or Hasmonean family, with whom Antiochus waged an unsuccessful war. Tacitus pays but scanty tribute to the Jewish patriots' magnificent struggle against the persecutor of their religion and profaner of their temple; as usual his sympathies are with any enemy of the hated race.

The mention of Arsaces' revolt is a chronological mistake, the revolt in question being contemporaneous with the reign of Antiochus II., called Θεός (who reigned 260-245 B.C.). The confusion is not unnatural, as Antiochus Epiphanes appears also to have been entitled Θεός, though not as a standing designation.

14. **reges**: according to Josephus, Aristobulus was the first of the Maccabeans who assumed the title of king (107 B.C.).

15. **expulsi**: it seems most natural to explain this as a reference to the six years' civil war between Alex. Jannaeus and the Pharisaic party, which led to Alexander's temporary dethronement in 86 B.C. (Milman, *History of the Jews*, ii. 78). But it may also refer to the contest, sixten years later, between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus II.

17. **fratrum**, etc. Even the crimes of Nero scarcely match those which stain the domestic history of the Jewish kings: witness the palace annals of the reign of Herod the Great. Speaking of his later years, Milman says: "It might have seemed that the spirit of the injured Mariamne hovered over the devoted house, and involving the innocent as well as the guilty in the common ruin, designated the dwelling of her murderous husband as the perpetual scene of misery and bloodshed."

IX.

1. **Pompeius**: he had been invited to decide between the rival candidates for the throne, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, and entered Jerusalem 63 B.C. The Jewish kingdom was temporarily abolished, Hyrcanus being installed as 'ethnarch' and high priest. *v.* Milman, ii. 82 *seqq.*

7. **rex Parthorum**, 'prince,' as in ii. 25. Pacorus was sent by his father, Orodes, across the Euphrates in command of an army, in fulfilment of a compact with the republican Labienus, an agent of Brutus and Cassius (40 B.C.). Antigonus, the last of the Maccabees, made use of the Parthian alliance to set himself on the Jewish throne; but he and his allies were defeated in 38 and 37 by Antonius' lieutenants, Sosius and Ventidius. Antigonus was beheaded at Antiochia.

10. **Herodi**, called 'the Great': on his eventful career, *v.* Milman. His father, Antipater, an Idumaean noble, was the minister of the Jewish ethnarch, Hyrcanus. During Antipater's lifetime, Herod had been governor of Galilee: after his father's death Antonius made him tetrarch of that province. Banished by the Maccabean, Antigonus, he betook himself to Rome; the Caesarians, whose cause he espoused, raised him to the throne of Judaea. He married Mariamne, the niece of Antigonus, and thus strengthened his claim to the inheritance of the Hasmoneans. He was an able but unscrupulous ruler: of

his private life it is enough to say, that he put to death seven Hasmoneans and six members of his own family.

11. **nihil exspectato Caesare,** 'without waiting for the decision of Augustus,' who undertook to decide between the rivals who contended for the throne after Herod's death (B.C. 3). By the imperial arbitration Herod's kingdom was divided between three of his thirteen children: Archelaus received Judaea, Idumaea, and Samaria; his brother Herod Antipas, Galilee and Peraea; his stepbrother Philip, the territory east of the Jordan—Gaulonitis, Batanaea, Trachonitis, Ituraea, Auranitis. Nine years afterwards, Archelaus was deposed and banished by the Emperor, and Judaea and Samaria became temporarily a Roman province, governed by an imperial procurator.

Simo established himself at the head of a band of robbers in the glen between Jerusalem and Jericho, and called himself king of Israel. The propraetor of Syria mentioned here is probably that Varus who lost his army and his life twelve years later in the Teutoburg forest.

16. **arma potius sumpsere**: although Caligula's mad presumption had driven the Jews to despair, it does not appear that they actually took up arms. From the more detailed account of Josephus, we learn that Petronius the governor of Syria took upon himself to disobey the imperial command, and to intercede with the emperor; but there can be no doubt that he would only have ruined himself by his generosity, had it not been for the opportune fall of Caligula.

17. **defunctis regibus.** Archelaus had died in exile: *v. sup.* Herod Agrippa I., a grandson of Herod the Great, and a personal friend of Caligula, not only succeeded to the Trans-Jordanic territories of Philip, but contrived to secure for himself the tetrarchy of Galilee and Peraea, Herod Antipas, his uncle, being driven into exile (Milman, ii. 141, 167, 168). In 41 A.D. Agrippa was allowed to add to his kingdom the districts of Judaea and Samaria, which had for more than thirty years been a Roman province (Milman, ii. 192). But he did not long enjoy his elevation: in 44 as he was presiding at a great festival, "the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost" (Acts xii.). He left a young son who succeeded only to his uncle's territory of Chalcis: this he was afterwards allowed to exchange for the lands east of the Jordan. Judaea, Galilee, Samaria, and Peraea became for the future a Roman province.

20. **Ant. Felix**, procurator, 52-60: the Felix before whom Paul preached. He was brother to Claudius' freedman and favourite Pallas (on whom *v.* Mayor's note on Juv. i. 109), and took his name from the fact of being a freedman of Claudius' mother, Antonia.

21. **Drusilla**, second daughter of Agrippa, who married Cyprus, a daughter of Antony and Cleopatra.

23, 24. **Claudius nepos**: being the son of Drusus and Antonia, daughter of Antony, by his first wife Octavia.

X.

2. **G. Florum**, a Greek of Clazomenae, married to Cleopatra, a friend of Nero's mistress, Poppaea: procurator of Judaea 64-66: *v.* Milman, ii. 214. The war broke out in the autumn of 66.

3. **C. Gallum**: Milman, ii. 241 foll. In a disastrous retreat through the pass of Bethhoron he lost all his military engines and nearly 6,000 men: "the Roman arms had not received so disgraceful an affront, nor suffered so great loss since the defeat of Varus in the forests of Germany" (Milman).

5. **taedio**, sc. *vitae*: by committing suicide: as opposed to *fato*, a natural death. Cestius was recalled, and superseded by Mucianus, Vespasian being entrusted with the conduct of the Jewish war.

7. **ministris**, 'subordinates,' as in iv. 19.

duas aestates, 67 and 68.

7, 8. **cuncta camporum**: cp. *A.* iii. 35, *cuncta curarum.* The genitive is not partitive as in *opaca locorum*, etc.: it is either a gen. of definition, or formed by false analogy from the common partitive usage.

9. **proximus annus**, 69.

10. **quantum ad**: cp. the same expression, Agr. 44, Germ. 21.

13. **omnes**, such as Jotapata, Gamala, Gischala. But several fortresses were not taken till after the fall of Jerusalem. It was a war rather of sieges than battles.

14. **eventus**, here 'success,' opposed to *casus*: cp. the same sense in Agr. 22, *damna eventibus pensare.*

XI.

3. **legiones**, according to ch. i. the 3rd, 5th, 10th, 12th, 15th, 22nd.

5. **longius ausuri** exactly translates 'to venture further': but one would expect *longius progredi ausuri*.

6. **cohortibus**, *sc.* auxiliaries.

6, 7. **ambigue**: in fact Titus was once cut off from the main body of his army: Jos. *B. J.* v. 2.

8. **proelia serebant**, a phrase formed apparently on the analogy of *manus conserere*.

11. **famem hostium opperiri**: cp. *terga hostium promittens*, a similar substitution of subst. for verb, 18.

12. **virtute**, 'deliberate valour,' distinguished from *ferocia*, ardour or high spirit.

14. **morari** is best taken transitively (*Hierosolyma morari eum videbantur*): although Orelli says it is for *nimis diu ei deesse*.

15. **moles**, massive walls. Blocks of stone, 20 feet long by 4 high, are still to be seen here and there.

16. **duos colles**: according to Orelli these hills are Acra and Zion. But the elevation of Acra was far lower than that of Mount Moriah, immediately south of it; and in fact Tacitus is evidently describing Acra and Zion at the end of the chapter, when he speaks of *alia intus moenia regiae circumiecta*. According to Heräus the hills are Acra and Bezetha: but against this the same objection holds good—that relatively to Mount Moriah and Mount Zion, the two other quarters of the town were not *in immensum edita*.

Probably *duos colles* is a general description of the city, divided as it is into two main heights, Zion and Moriah. The *muri* will then be the line of wall surrounding all the city: after this general sketch of the *coup d'oeil*, the historian described the fortifications lying behind the outer line—the *alia moenia* and the Temple.

18. **obliqui**, etc., "with projecting or retreating angles," so that the flanks of attacking parties would be exposed to the besieged. Cp. Veget. iv. 2, *si quis ad murum tali ordinatione constructum vel scalas vel machinas voluerit admovere, non solum a fronte sed etiam a lateribus et prope a tergo in sinum conclusus opprimitur*.

24. **turris**: on which *v.* Milman, iii. p. 17. There were altogether 164 towers on the walls.

Antonia: a fort originally called Baris, standing at the north-west corner of the Temple plateau on a rock 90 feet high: restored and strengthened by Herod I., it served for some time as quarters for the Roman garrison. For a description of it *v.* Milman, iii. 19.

XII.

1. **Templum**, on Mount Moriah, the eastern height of the city. For a detailed description *v.* Milman, iii. 20.

2. **porticus**, the double (on one side triple) portico or cloister surrounding the Temple court. The whole of the Temple buildings covered a square of a furlong's length each side.

4. **fons**; the spring called Siloam or Siloe, which fed the "pool of Siloam" (cp. S. John, ix. 7), and also the "upper pool" (which Jos. *B. J.* v. 4, calls Σολομῶνος κολυμβήθρα). According to Jerome the spring was not *perennis* but intermittent.

cavati ... montes, caves or catacombs, 500 feet in length; perhaps giving access to secret springs.

11. **magna conluvies**: that is, the population consisted not only of the ordinary inhabitants, but of numbers of Jews from all quarters: such as the so-called *Sicarii* of Simon, and the Galilean zealots under John of Gischala. Among the cities whose fall contributed to swell the population of Jerusalem were Jotapata, Gamala, Gischala, Lydda.

12. **aucti** is grammatically in apposition with the subj. of *struxere*, but of course refers to a quite different point of time: we should translate "and their numbers were now increased," etc. **conluvies** is easier to understand than to translate: the sense is, that the Jews had been swept together like rubbish. Cp. *A.* ii. 15, where the Athenians are called a *conluvies nationum*, a population made up of the sweepings of the earth.

14. **extrema**, etc.: *sc.* the wall of Agrippa, surrounding the whole city, including the quarters Acra and Bezetha.

Simo (*v.* Milman, ii. 357), a native of Gerasa, east of the Jordan, and leader of a robber army, who had for some time waged war as much against the Galilean zealots of Jerusalem as against the Roman invader. Eventually faction in the city caused him to be admitted within its walls.

Simon is called by Josephus 'son of Gioras,' so that the words *quem et Bargioram vocabant* must be a mistake : perhaps they should either be placed after 'Simo' or omitted altogether as a mistaken gloss: *Bargioras = bar Giora, Giorae filius.* John was the son of Levi. Simon survived the destruction of Jerusalem, and was brought to Rome to grace Titus' triumph, as the bravest of the Jewish leaders, after which he was put to death.

15. **Ioannes** : he had taken refuge in Jerusalem after the capture of his native town Gischala, and thenceforward headed the party of desperate resistance to the Roman arms. The *media urbs* which he held was the Tower of Antonia and Mount Moriah, with the exception, so far, of the inner court of the Temple, which was as yet occupied by Eleazar at the head of the original Jewish war party : whereas John relied principally on the support of Galilean refugees.

17. **armis** : John was in possession of military engines, perhaps those of the routed army of Cestius : *v.* 10.

20. **per speciem sacrificandi**, at the feast of the Passover. According to Tacitus, evidently some of the zealots were *obtruncati :* Josephus does not mention this, simply saying that John sent a force and intimidated the zealots into joining him.

XIII.

1. **prodigia** : Josephus mentions among other prodigies that a cow gave birth to a lamb in the Temple.

Perhaps the strangest story of all is that of one Jesus, son of Ananus. For seven years before the capture of the city this man had cried continually in the streets, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem!" and had only been saved from punishment by the popular opinion that he was a harmless maniac. At last during the siege he suddenly cried, "Woe to myself!" and was that instant struck dead by a stone.

2. **fas habet** : cp. Leviticus, xix. 26.

3. **religionibus adversa** : a curious paradox as applied to Jews. *Superstitio* is sometimes used by Tacitus, as here, to denote any cult other than Roman or Greek : cp. *A.* xi. 15, *externae superstitiones :* apparently he has still enough belief in the Roman religion to contrast it with superstition.

3, 4. **concurrere acies** : "As when to warn proud cities wars appear waged in the troubled sky." Compare the story of the phantom battle seen above Utrecht, in Motley's *Dutch Republic*, pt. iv. chap. i.

5. **apertae fores**, which ordinarily could only be moved by twenty men.

6. **excedere deos**: according to Josephus *φωνὴ ἀθροὰ 'Μεταβαίνομεν ἐντεῦθεν.'* Both Romans and Greeks believed that a doomed city was deserted by its gods: cp. *Septem. c. Th.* 200, *θεοὺς τοὺς τῆς ἁλούσης πόλεος ἐκλείπειν λόγος.* According to ancient custom when the Romans besieged a city, their priests used to *evocare deum cuius in tutela id oppidum esset.* (Plin. *N. H.* xxviii. 2.)

8. **trahebant** = *interpretabantur:* a common sense of the word in Tacitus.

persuasio inerat: the people in general were persuaded of the advent of the Messiah. Suet. and Jos. agree with Tac. in referring the popular belief to the Flavian dynasty. Cp. Jos. *B. J.* 55, *ἐδήλου δ' ἄρα τὸ λόγιον τὴν Οὐεσπασιάνου ἡγεμονίαν*: Suet. Vesp. 4, *id de imperatore Romano quantum postea eventu paruit praedictum.*

12, 13. **sibi ... interpretati**, interpreting the great prophecy to their own advantage.

14. **ad vera mutabantur**, "could be brought to recognise the truth."

15. **secus** (archaic and post-classical form of 'sexus') is only used by Tac. in the acc. and then adverbially as here. Cp. *A.* iv. 62.

15, 16. **sescenta milia**: yet Jos. says that 1,100,000 perished in the siege: *B. J.* vi. 9. If we are to try to explain the discrepancy, we may suggest that Josephus' number may include those slain in the internal strife immediately preceding the actual siege: but he is rather prone to large numbers.

19. **maior vitae metus**: cp. Dio Cass. lxvi. 6, "They considered it victory and safety to perish with the Temple."

21. **subita belli**, a sudden attack, *coup de main.*

23. **expugnandis urbibus**: dative of purpose.

XIV

1. **in Treveris**: the battle of Trèves described iv. 78.

4. **prosperarum illic rerum**: *illic* may be connected with either the substantive or adjective; if with the latter, it is equivalent to *prospere illic gestarum*, if with the former, we may compare such an attributive use of an adverb as ii. 16, *Liburnicarum ibi navium.*

6. **duplicatis**: he had already five legions, but some of them were incomplete, so that the addition of three entire legions might well double his force.

7. **legionum**: for the plural cp. i. 18, *quartam et duoetvicensimam legiones.*

11. **obliquam in Rh. molem**, 'a dam projecting into the Rhine.' Orelli says *moles* is *ex lapidibus trabibusque congesta*, '*Damm*'; *contra* '*agger*,' '*Deich*,' *ex humo dumtaxat congestus.*

obiectu, a common word in Tacitus: cp. iii. 9, *obiectu paludis*: and Virg. *Aen.* i. 59, *obiectu laterum.*

revolutus, a strong word meaning simply 'checked.

14. **nandi pavidus**: cp. *A.* xiv. 38, *offensionum non pavidus.*

15. **levitas armorum**: cp. *A.* ii. 14, *non loricam Germano, non galeam, ne scuta quidem ferro nervove firmata.*

XV.

6, 7. **comminus certabatur**: M has *cominus minus*; whence Orelli *cominus eminus.*

12. **egredi paludem**: cp. *egredi moenia*, iii. 76.

castra, Vetera.

15. **instare ... abolere**, descriptive infinitives: 'Civilis' aim was to follow up his success,' etc.

17. **nox apud barbaros**, etc. There is a threefold variation of construction: *apud* with accusative corresponds to the dative; the ablative to *per* with accusative; *aut* to *et.*

XVI.

4. **cuneis**: cp. iv. 16, note.

5. **Cugerni**: cp. iv. 26.

8, 9. **ut quosque suorum advehebantur**: cp. *A.* ii. 45, *ut quosque advectus erat.* The plural is used because it was of course not individuals who were addressed, but separate portions of the armies.

10. **victorias**, sc. *memorabat*: it is easily understood.

11, 12. **excinderent**: M has *exciderent*; but *excindere* occurs tolerably often in Tacitus, *e.g.* *A.* ii. 25; and in Virg. *Aen.* iv. 137, *sceleratam excindere gentem.*

14. **quod roboris fuerit**: cp. iv. 76.

16. **domitores Britanniae**: cp. i. 59.

17, 18. **sextae legionis**: the sixth legion (Victrix), quartered in Spain, had elected Galba emperor.

19. **nova signa**: they were *e recens conscriptis*: iv. 68.

20. **praevectus**, 'riding past' (sc. *aciem legionum*).

XVII.

1. **silens instruxit** makes rather better sense than the MS. reading *silentem struxit*, though the latter might be perhaps justified by the *alacrior omnium clamor*, on the Roman side, of ch. 16.

2. **ciens**, 'appealing to.'

5. **dira omnia**, sc. *nihil nisi dira*: cp. the frequent phrase *laeta omnia*, e.g. *A*. i. 42.

7, 8. **dum ... impediunt**: cp. iii. 38, note.

10. **providisse**: the reading of M is *preuise*: other MSS. have *providisse*. Orelli reads *provisa*.

14. **gloriosissimum inter maiores** stands apparently for *gloriosissimum inter gloriosos maiorum dies*.

16. **ita illis mos**: cp. Germ. 11, *sin placuit sententia frameas concutiunt*; *honoratissimum adsensus genus est armis laudare*.

XVIII.

6. **turbata ibi res**, 'a panic began.'

10. **terga hostium promittens**, *i.e.* showing that they could thus take the enemy in rear. There is the same brevity in the phrase as in *post Cremonam* (for *post excissam Cremonam*) iii. 49.

extremo paludis: cp. such phrases as *medio diei*. The case may be either dative after *immitteretur*, or ablative of route taken: like *montibus*, iv. 77.

11. **illa** = *alae*: cp. iii. 8, *ne pervium illa foret*. *A*. ii. 17, *illa rupturus*.

16. **Romana classis**, the flotilla regularly stationed in the Rhine: it is mentioned again, 21.

XIX.

2. **Annio**, governor of Upper Germany: cp. iv. 68.

3. **decuma**: cp. iv. 68.

4, 5. **oppidum Batavorum**: this is apparently the reading of M, and it is best to follow it instead of the other reading, *oppida*, as there may have been towns also in the *insula*. At the same time the "town of the Batavians" is not elsewhere mentioned, and its introduction is abrupt. Where it was is not known: some identify it with Cleves: clearly the present passage points to some place on the left bank of the Waal.

9. **molem**: a work begun by Drusus 9 B.C., and completed by Pompeius Paulinus, governor of Lower Germany, A.D. 55. The object of its constructors was to strengthen the Roman frontier by increasing the volume of water in the right or northern channel of the river, after its bifurcation: the dam diverted into this northern stream part of the water, which would naturally have flowed in the southern channel, the Waal. Civilis by destroying the "moles" starved the northern, while increasing the southern arm—thus at once strengthening his position against the Romans and facilitating his communications with Germany. On the "moles," *v. A.* xiii. 53. Drusus made also a canal, connecting the right branch with the Yssel.

10. **prono alveo**: the natural tendency of the stream was to flow into the Waal.

14. **Rhenum**, *i.e.* the Waal.

15. **senatores**, properly *decuriones*, the usual term for a local senate.

17. **superius**, iii. 35.

18. **miseratione**, 'by arousing sympathy."

XX.

1. **tantum belli superfuit**, 'so little was the war at an end.'

3. **Arenacum** is thought to have been near Cleves: Batavodurum near Nymwegen: as to Grinnes and Vada nothing is known.

7. **traherent**: M has "traheret," but Tacitus regularly uses the plural after *quisque* when in apposition with a plural number: cp. iv. 65, *eos bellum absumpsit, vel in suas quisque sedes refugerunt.*

9. **adfore**, an abrupt transition to *oratio obliqua*. Cp. iii. 70, *culpam in militem conferens, cuius nimio ardori imparem esse modestiam suam.*

10. **pluribus nuntiis**, a causal abl.

13. **materiis**, wood for building: cp. iv. 23. The forest of Cleves still supplies abundance of wood.

15. **primoribus cent.** = *primi centurionum* (ii. 89): the ten *pili priores* of the front rank. v. *Dict. of Antiq.* "*Exercitus.*'

17. **interrumpere**, *inrumpere* M.

XXI.

4. **Briganticus**: cp. iv. 70.

8. **amnem**, the Waal.

10. **Veraci**: the usual reading has been "Veracis," corrected from the *Germani* of M. The dative is more in accordance with Tac.'s custom.

11. **transvexere**: M, *vexere*: Her. *avexere.*

ne tum quidem, 'any more than in the battle of,' ch. 18.

16. **artes**, 'strategy.' For the 'defuissent' cp. i. 10 note.

18. **periculum evasisset**: *evadere* with acc. is generally post-Augustan: it is found in Lucilius.

XXII.

2. **hiematuris**: the campaign had lasted nearly all the year.

6. **vallum**: Cerialis had encamped for the night on the river bank, apparently in the country of the Ubii, between Novaesium and Vetera.

10. **fallendum**, τὸ λαθεῖν: cp. *fefellere*, ii. 98.

silentio, after which some word like *agebant* must be supplied in translation: *miscebant* only suits *clamoribus*. It is a case of zeugma.

16. **vexillo**: one may suppose that spies by day had supplied this detail, as the *vexillum* would scarcely be visible at night. According to Liv. xxix. 25, three lanterns were the distinguishing mark of the "flag-ship."

17. **alibi**: as also at Trier, iv. 77.

21. **signo**, the bugle call which marked the beginning of the different *vigiliae*. The *voces* are the demand for and giving of the word as the officer goes his rounds.

24. **Lupia**, the Lippe. The Roman trireme apparently drew only about 3 feet of water; otherwise the story would be incredible.

24. **Velaedae**: cp. iv. 61.

XXIII.

1. **cupido incessit**: *incedere* is often used with accusative in Tacitus. Cp. ii. 2, *illum cupido incessit*. The reading of M is *cupido inuasi incessit*: perhaps the scribe began to write *invasit*. The late Mr. J. H. Onions suggested (*Journal of Philology*, vol. 16) *cupido inanis incessit*. *Inanis* would be well justified by *insitam genti vanitatem* below.

2. **quaeque simplici**, etc., 'which were propelled by a single row of oars': Tacitus avoids the proper word *moneris* (*μονήρης*) with his usual aversion to technical terms.

4. **quadragenosque**: followed by *ser* in M, out of which some make *ferentium*; Wolff reads *vexere* (after Meiser), making this and the three preceding words a parenthesis.

5. **captae**: Heräus and Wolff read *actae* (*i.e.* rowed) whereby these boats would be distinguished from the others, which were rigged like 'Liburnicae' (cp. ii. 16.)

sag. versicol.: cp. ii. 20, *versicol. sagulo indutus*: Aen. viii. 660, (Galli) *virgatis lucent sagulis*.

6. **spatium**: the wide expanse of water (nearly six miles broad) at the confluence of the Maas and Lek, the continuation of the eastern Rhine. Tacitus means that the Maas, after joining the Waal, is united by a side stream with the Lek, and that the united streams flow together under the name Mosa into the sea. Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 15, calls this expanse 'Helinium': perhaps there is a remnant of the name in the modern Hellevoet and Hellevoetsluis.

14. **his**, the Romans.

15. **praevecti**, 'passing each other.'

16. **trans Rhenum**, across the N. or right branch of the river.

18. **nota arte**: we read of Archidamus, during a Peloponnesian invasion of Attica, employing this 'ars' against Pericles (Thuc. ii. 13), and Hannibal treated Fabius' estates in the same way (Livy xxii. 23).

19. **flexu autumni**, *sc.* when autumn began to draw to a close: the metaphor is from the turning point or *meta* in a race-course. Cp. Cic. *pro Cael.* 75, *in hoc flexu quasi aetatis.*

21. **in faciem stagni**, 'so that it resembled a lake.'

XXIV.

2. **inputavit**, 'made a merit of': v. on i. 38, iii. 86.

9. **mutare**: cp. *monuit firmare*, iv. 33.

receptos Ubios: iv. 79.

11. **fugas**, banishments: cp. 8, *fugas civium.*

12. **satis peccavisse**, sc. *eos.*

13. **transcenderint**: cp. *A.* iv. 44, *flumen Albim transcendit.* Livy uses the word of crossing the sea (xxi. 44.)

XXV.

7. **bellum navaverint**, etc., *sc.* if it was Vespasian they fought for, their object was already obtained. For the phrase, cp. iv. 59, *flagitium navare.*

9. **vocent**=*provocent*: cp. iv. 80, *vocare offensas.*

15. **atrociora**, 'used more violent language.'

16. **domesticis malis**: cp. iv. 13. For the thought, cp. i. 53, *privata vulnera rei publicae malis operire statuit.*

18, 19. **bellum...sumeretur**: a phrase not uncommon in Livy and Tacitus.

XXVI.

3. **infringit**: the same Stoicism of sentiment appears in Tacitus' condemnation of Maroboduus for *nimia vivendi cupiditas* (*A.* ii. 63.)

4. **Nabáliae**: a river nowhere else mentioned. As Civilis had apparently retreated across the right or northern boundary of the *insula*, it may perhaps be identified with the Yssel (diverging northwards from the Rhine above Arnheim) or the Vecht, which connects the Rhine, at a point somewhat lower down, with the Zuyder Zee. Some suggest the Lek; but Tacitus would call it Rhenus, probably.

5. **abrupta**, 'the broken ends.'

7. **defenderer**, middle: 'were making my defence.'

8. **debebatur** = *deberetur.* Cp. Cic. *pro lege Manilia* 17, *si Romae Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat diligendus.*

9. **hostilia**: cp. iii. 70, *antequam invicem hostilia coeptarent.*

10. **erga Vespasianum**: possibly Civilis became acquainted with Vespasian, as Heräus suggests, when the latter was commanding the 2nd legion in the expedition to Britain of 43 A.D.: if this is so, Civilis was no longer young.

12. **epistulis**: the letter mentioned iv. 13.

16. **Flavianus**: this is not strictly accurate: cp. ii. 86, iii. 4. What Civilis meant is that he had only fought for the same cause which had been supported by all the Flavian leaders.

So ends the story of the revolt. Apparently the Batavians were not punished by any loss of those rights which they had enjoyed: an honourable peace ended the rebellion. Tacitus says in the Germania (39), '*Manet honos et antiquae societatis insigne : nam nec tributis contemnuntur nec publicanus atterit ; exempti oneribus et collationibus ... bellis reservantur.*

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